

NEGOTIATING THE INTEGRATION STRATEGIES AND THE
TRANSNATIONAL STATUSES OF GHANAIAAN-LED PENTECOSTAL
CHURCHES IN BRITAIN

By

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ABSTRACT

Christianity has seen phenomenal growth in sub-Saharan Africa and African churches in the West have also grown rapidly in the last few decades. The majority of members in these churches in the West are migrants and their children. In Britain, these migrant churches represent a vibrant form of Christianity with regard to their visibility and prominence. Considering the history of these migrants' churches and the challenges they face in their efforts to evangelise the host community, most migrant members of these churches use the churches as the platform for their own expression of personhood, faith and mission. The relationships the migrants maintain with their churches, host communities and their places of origin gives them a transnational status. Beyond the superficial tagging of these churches as transnational entities is the need to enquire how the churches negotiate these multifaceted networks of relationships to become transnational. As a result, the focus of the thesis is on the detailed processes that take place within this relationship, which gives the churches and the migrant members a transnational status.

This leads to the examination of the internal strategies designed and implemented by the churches to assist members to integrate into the wider society. These internal strategies otherwise referred to as micro-integration strategies in the thesis, concentrate on preparing the members for living in the communities they reside in. It is argued that these internal strategies determine the level of contextualisation of beliefs and praxis in the host communities, thus creating a new identity that is a combination of Ghanaian and British values. The study has explored how the internal integration strategies and the contextualisation of the Ghanaian migrants' faith

determine the extent to which the churches assume a transnational status in their outlook and the expression of their faith.

To

The Late Ebenezer Atta Otopah

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‘O for a thousand tongues to sing’ the praises of my God. I am grateful to God for what he has done in my life and how far He’s brought me.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background

The last few decades have witnessed an unprecedented flow of migrants from sub-Saharan Africa to the West. These migrants bring their religions with them, creating religious communities in the diaspora and ‘resulting in the remapping of old religious landscapes’.¹ These migrants have included adherents of indigenous African Religions, Muslims and Christians. Like the migrants of the other religions mentioned above, the Christians among them come from different Christian denominations. Significant among these denominations are the Pentecostals who upon arrival congregate themselves together and request a pastor from their place or origin, or in some instances plant their own church with ties to their parent church or churches at the place of origin. The motivation for this phenomenon is that Africans are religious no matter where they find themselves.² One important feature of these churches is that the predominant nationality of the members is in most cases determined by the nationality of the leader or pastor in charge of the churches, apart from the factor of the origins of the church itself. So for instance a church may be designated as a ‘Nigerian Church’ such as Matthew Ashimolowo’s Kingsway International Christian Centre (KICC), Glory House led by the Odulele brothers or Christ Faith Tabernacle led by Apostle Alfred Williams; a ‘Ghanaian Church’ such as the International Central Gospel Church led by Dr

¹ Afe Adogame, “African Christian Communities in Diaspora,” in O. Kalu, J. Hofmeyr, P. Maritz (Eds.), *Preserving a World View: Preliminary* (Pretoria, University of Pretoria, 2005), 498.

Mensa Otabil, or Victory Bible Church International or the Dominion Centre;³ a ‘Kenyan Church’ such as Bishop Climate Irungu’s Kingdom Church; or a ‘Congolese Church’ such as London Fire Church led by Pastor Jean Bosco Kanyemesha. In each case the church can be described as such because of its predominant membership, the country of origin of the church and the nationality of the pastor who leads the congregation.⁴ However, these African churches described as such by scholars and the public in general, do not describe themselves with tags relating to their ancestry or national origins, but as international, due to its networking outside of the place of domicile. One could count many Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches that meet in school classrooms, former bingo halls, leisure centres, amusement centres and many other kinds of buildings around cities in Britain. These churches come in varying sizes, and differ in terms of their social composition, influence, liturgy styles, belief systems and practices. Scholars like Asamoah-Gyadu and Philip Jenkins believe that the rise in African Christianity generally in the West is the outworking of an observation made in empirical terms and echoed by Barrett, that by AD 2000 the centre of gravity of the Christian faith would have shifted markedly southwards’.⁵ Statistics show that Africa, in particular, contributed to the huge surge of the growth of Christianity, showing an increase from only 10 million Christians in 1900 to 360 million at the end of 2000. Considering these developments it is estimated there could be over 600 million Christians in Africa by 2025. As at 1980, Christians in the South were more numerous than those in the North for the first time in a millennium. In 1900 over 80% of all Christians lived in Europe and Northern America, however, by 2005 this proportion would have fallen to under 40% and will likely fall below

³ Chigor Chike, “African Pneumatology in the British Context: A Contemporary Study,” A PhD Thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham. (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2011), 1 – 2.

⁴ I. Olofinjana, *Reverse in Ministry and Mission: Africans in the Dark Continent of Europe* (London: Author House, 2010), 38 – 41.

⁵ David B. Barrett, “AD 2000: 350 Million Christians in Africa,” *International Review of Mission* 59, (1970): 41 -50.

16% before 2025.⁶ However an update by Jenkins in 2002 of the distribution of world Christianity is not as grim as Barrett's projections, in 1970. According to Jenkins by 2025, 50 percent of the Christian population will be in Africa and Latin America, and another 17 percent will be in Asia, leaving the rest of the world with a share of 33 percent: double the projected figure by Barrett.⁷ Future projections show that the Christian churches of the Global South (Africa, Asia, Latin America and Oceania) are likely to increase their percentage share of membership of global Christianity.⁸

As Mkwaila puts it 'the image of Christianity can no longer be thought of as being defined primarily by its recent history in Europe and America but equally by its present and anticipated future vitality in Africa, Asia and Latin America'.⁹ Not only is this vitality resident in these continents mentioned by Mkwaila but also African migrants export it to the global north generally. As a residual effect, one of the thriving Christianity in the global north is African Christianity. Hanciles, in his observation of the phenomenon in the United States, notes that these 'immigrant churches are the most dynamic, and act as agents of new spiritual vitality and help initiate forms of outreach to multi-ethnic communities'.¹⁰ Similar to the American story, in Britain, these churches continue to expand their presence in various cities and suburbs among the African migrant communities. They are generally referred to as black majority churches, which include the African-Caribbean originated churches. It is estimated

⁶ Todd M. Johnson, David B. Barrett, Peter F. Crossing, "Status of Global Mission in the Context of Ad 1800-2025," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 36, no. 1 (2012).

⁷ Philip Jenkins, "The Next Christianity", *Online Atlantic Magazine*, 1 October 2002, <http://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/2002/10/the-next-christianity/302591/>, accessed 3 May 2014.

⁸ Todd Johnson and Sandra Kim, (Date Unknown) 'The Changing face of Global Christianity' <http://www.bostontheological.org/assets/files/02tjohnson.pdf>, accessed 10 February 2011.

⁹ Andrew Mkwaila, "Contextualization and the Challenge of Contemporary Pentecostal Missions from Africa to the Northern Hemisphere," *Ethne Online Journal For Pentecostal and Missional Leadership* 1, no. 1, see www.antsonline/article2v2i1.html, accessed 10 January 2011.

¹⁰ Jehu Hanciles, "African Christianity, Globalization, and Mission: Marginalizing the Centre," in *Interpreting Contemporary Christianity: Global Processes and Local Identities*, O. U. Kalu, ed. (Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing, 2008), 89.

that there are more than 500,000 Black Christians in over 4,000 local congregations in the United Kingdom, the majority of which are in London.¹¹ Out of the 4,000 local congregations (and these are those registered with the African and Caribbean Evangelical Alliance, and the Minority Ethnic Christian Affairs (META) department of Churches Together in England), about 150 are exclusively Ghanaian-led, some of which have other branches and assemblies around the country. Therefore the number of Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches scattered in the cities of Britain could top 300 in total, making them a significant group to focus on for this study.¹² Indeed, it is worth noting that the churches studied for this research have between 200 and 800 individuals in attendance every Sunday in each of the churches, have branches in and outside of London, and have not registered with any of the above-named bodies as yet.

As these Pentecostal churches spring up, the major challenge they are confronted with is how to move from the immigrant communities and engage their larger host community in their quest to spread their kind of spirituality and vitality and still be able to maintain ties with their homeland. One of the questions that forms the basis of enquiry of this research is: what are the internal processes and integrating strategies put in place by the Ghanaian-led churches to assist migrant members? A follow up question would be: is a new identity created in the process of integrating? The aim for asking this is to be able to discover the peculiar issues that arise from those strategic initiatives and interrogate their efficiency to do what they are meant to achieve and to be able to follow in the trajectory of integration to the indicators of identity creation. Another question for this enquiry is: how do the Pentecostal migrants contextualise their faith in their communities of settlement? The reason for this question would be to discover traits of beliefs and practices of Pentecostal churches in Ghana and British cultural influences on these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain. Considering the fact that

¹¹ <http://www.bmcdirectory.co.uk/index.php>, accessed 20 December 2011.

¹² <http://www.bmcdirectory.co.uk/index.php>, accessed 20 December 2011.

the migrants who belong to these churches still maintain ties with their homeland, another line of question which the thesis asks is: what are the factors that identify these migrants and the churches as transnational entities?

The purpose of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches is to re-energise the Christianity of their host community through the process of integration, contextualisation and the carving of a transnational status for themselves. The churches not only provide a community for belonging, they also embark on wider social, economic and religious programmes. These programmes and initiatives not only mitigate the pain of being ‘removed’ but assist in integration in the place of settlement and promote the maintenance of a transnational status.¹³ Upon integration, these churches seek to contextualise their faith and Christianity to the host communities where they are based. According to Shenk,

.... Contextualisation is a process whereby the gospel message encounters a particular culture, calling forth faith and leading to the formation of a faith community, which is culturally authentic and authentically Christian.¹⁴

In other words contextualisation would involve the processes through which the Christian message and church as an organisation is affected by the host community and in turn affects the host community, although the integrity of the message remains unaltered. From Shenk’s definition there is first an internal process within a particular church or faith community that gives birth to an external engagement with the wider community. Further, the gospel message of a particular church or community carries nuances and a flavour, which distinguish it from others because of the church’s cultural heritage. For example Ghanaian-led Pentecostal

¹³ Mattia Fumanti and Pnina Werbner, “The Moral Economy of the African Diaspora: Citizenship, Networking and Permeable Ethnicity,” *Transnational Journal of Culture, Economy & Society* 3, no. 1 (2010): 7.

¹⁴ Wilbert R. Shenk, *Changing Frontiers of Mission* (New York: Orbis Books, 1999), 56.

churches in Britain can be differentiated from Nigerian-led Pentecostal churches in this way, and indeed, their processes of integration and contextualisation and their efforts in carving a transnational status would also differ. It is the ensuing internal preparation and processes of integration, which involve the processes by which migrants settle into their communities; contextualisation, which is also the migrants' expression of faith that fits into their existential realities, and the quest to create the awareness of a transnational status that this research seeks to explore. This internal preparation and processes shape the kind of engagement that is sought with the larger host community by the immigrant community. The internal preparation and processes that this study is concerned with include: how these communities negotiate beliefs and practices; the extent to which the churches contextualise their beliefs and practices and the churches' programmes and initiatives to assist the members to integrate into the wider society; how the internal dynamics of the churches affect and are affected by the churches in the homeland; and their contributions to their larger host communities. This study provides an analysis from an African migrant perspective of the African religious presence in Britain and to what extent ties to African homelands affect host communities and vice versa.

1.2 Significance of the Study

Studies on how African-led Pentecostal churches are integrating and contextualising have focussed primarily on the 'mega' or large churches. To a large extent these churches do not paint a clear picture of African Pentecostal Christianity in the diaspora on Britain's religious canvas. For instance, the Ghanaian-led or predominantly Ghanaian congregations are growing in size and presence in London, but are not 'mega' in size in comparison to some of their Nigerian counterparts. These churches have not received much attention from the scholarly

community, unlike the Ghanaian-led migrant churches in Israel researched by Galia Sabar,¹⁵ and those in Holland studied by Gerrie ter Haar and Rijk van Dijk for instance.¹⁶ Therefore the intention of this study is to contribute to knowledge in the field of African Christianity in general and specifically to the study of Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain. The churches chosen for this study are: International Central Gospel Church (ICGC), Royalhouse Chapel International (RCI), which are branches of churches originating from Ghana and led by Ghanaian pastors and the others; Dominion Centre (DC) and Freedom Centre International (FCI) are Ghanaian-led but have their origins here in Britain. The study of these churches is complementary to other studies in Africa and the African diaspora.¹⁷ The combination of migrants' past experiences and their church leaders' beliefs and practices with their present experience as African religious migrants places them in a peculiar position where their future is determined by an interconnection of the two. This inter-connectedness that is facilitated by the church then becomes the medium of reaching out to the host community. Often scholars tend to focus on the interaction of the church with the wider community with less attention given to the detailed internal processes of preparation towards integration with the wider host community, contextualisation and the creation of a transnational status and its associated challenges. This takes away from our understanding of the place of the church as an entity for facilitating integration. For these migrant churches the internal processes and preparation

¹⁵ Galia Sabar, "Witchcraft and Concepts of Evil amongst African Migrant Workers in Israel," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, no. 44 (2010): 110-141.

¹⁶ Rijk van Dijk, "The soul is the stranger: Ghanaian Pentecostalism and the Diasporic contestation of 'flow' and 'individuality,'" *Culture and Religion*, vol. 3 (2002): 49-65; Gerrie Ter Haar, *Halfway to Paradise: African Christians in Europe* (Cardiff: Cardiff Academic Press, 1998), 29-200.

¹⁷ Afe Adogame, *Celestial Church of Christ* (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 1999); J.K. Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics: Current Developments within Independent Indigenous Pentecostalism in Ghana*, (Leiden: Brill 2005); Emmanuel. K. Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity*, (CPCS, Accra: 2001); Ogbu Kalu, *African Pentecostalism: An Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Chigor Chike, *African Pneumatology in the British Context: A contemporary study*. A PhD thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham (Birmingham: University of Birmingham, 2011); Opoku Onyinah, *Akan witchcraft and the concept of exorcism in the Church of Pentecost*. (PhD Thes.: University of Birmingham, 2002).

given by the churches subsequently shapes the kind of engagement it seeks with its larger host community. One cannot understand the responses of these Christian migrant communities to the wider host communities until a review and an analysis is undertaken on the church as an organisation in itself and its contribution to the process. The leadership, history, ethos and praxis of the churches shape the migrants themselves and subsequently determine the relationship they establish with the wider host community and place of origin. This approach is contrary to Schiller et al who propose non-ethnic pathways, which exclude the church as an organisation.¹⁸ The non-ethnic pathways do not work for migrants as many factors militate against them such as funds and social class obtained through job placements. The church therefore becomes the gateway for their integration into the larger host communities. The factors mentioned limit their ability to exert influence in their communities, but they are able to succeed through the church, as they are nurtured and given the necessary tools with which to pursue this agenda of integration.

Previous research by scholars such as Fumanti, Krause, Mazzucato, have addressed issues relating to the transnational status of migrants.¹⁹ In addition, Adogame, Gerloff, and Chike's studies look at specific issues within the migrant churches in Europe.²⁰ This study seeks to

¹⁸ Nina Glick Schiller, Çağlar Ayşe, and C. Guldbrandsen Thaddeus, "Beyond the Ethnic Lens: Locality, Globality, and Born-Again Incorporation," *American Ethnologist* 33, no. 4 (2006): 612-633.

¹⁹ Nina Glick Schiller, Linda Basch, and Cristina Szanton Blanc, "From Immigrant to Transmigrant: Theorizing Transnational Migration," *Anthropological Quarterly* 68, no. 1 (1995); Mattia Fumanti, "Virtuous Citizenship': Ethnicity and Encapsulation among Akan-Speaking Ghanaian Methodists in London," *African Diaspora: Transnational Journal of Culture, Economy & Society* 3, no. 1 (2010); Afe Adogame, "Betwixt Identity and Security: African New Religious Movements and the Politics of Religious Networking in Europe," *Nova Religio* 7, no. 2 (2003); Valentina Mazzucato, "The Double Engagement: Transnationalism and Integration. Ghanaian Migrants' Lives between Ghana and the Netherlands," *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies* 34, no. 2 (2008): 205; Kristine Krause, "Transnational Therapy Networks among Ghanaians in London," *Journal of Ethnic & Migration Studies* 34, no. 2 (2008): 238.

²⁰ Afe Adogame, "African Instituted Churches in Europe, Continuity and Transformation," in *African Identities and World Christianity in the Twentieth Century*, Klaus Koschorke ed. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2005), 225-244.; Chigor Chike, "African Pneumatology in the British Context: A contemporary Study," (Phd Thes.,: University of Birmingham, 2011); Roswith Gerloff, "An African Continuum in Variation: The African Christian Diaspora in Britain," in *Black Theology in Britain. A Journal of Contextual Praxis* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2000)

add to the existing body of knowledge on this subject that has been generated by these scholars. The focus of this enquiry is the church as a collective representative of the people, and a shared entity of the people, and as such, the thesis offers an additional body of knowledge to earlier research that emphasizes religious identities and networks, such as that undertaken by Corten and Marshall-Fratani and Robbins.²¹ The contribution to knowledge in this field is in the area of the analysis of the detailed internal processes of integration adopted by the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches; identifying specific areas of continuity and discontinuity of Ghanaian Pentecostal beliefs and praxis in the churches in Britain; and to understand how they are negotiating their transnational statuses within their communities.

1.3 Engaging the Literature

The conversion of cinema halls, discos, warehouses and other places of leisure into sacred spaces by African-led Pentecostal Churches in Europe is in sharp contrast to the closing down and conversion of church buildings belonging to the mainline historic churches into pubs, residential homes and restaurants.²² These African-led neo-Pentecostal churches have bought some of the sacred spaces belonging to the mainline historical churches. Some Pentecostals reckon that these are signs of the relative resurgence and vitality of African Christianity on the African continent, transported to Europe.²³ The trend has been that most of the conversions of public secular spaces into sacred places are being done by the African Pentecostal Christian community, whilst there is the conversion of sacred spaces belonging to

²¹ Andre' Corten, and Ruth Marshall-Fratani, (eds.) *Between Babel and Pentecost: Transnational Pentecostalism in Africa and Latin America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press. 2001); Joel Robbins, "The Globalization of Pentecostal and Charismatic Christianity," *Annual Review of Anthropology* 33, (2004): 117–143.

²² Asamoah-Gyadu, *African Charismatics*, p.10.

²³ Mkwaila, "Contextualization and the Challenge of Contemporary Pentecostal Missions from Africa to the Northern Hemisphere," www.antsOnline/article2v2i1.html, accessed 10 January 2011.

mainline historical churches into secular public spaces. There are suggestions from interactions with African Pentecostals to indicate that there is a resurgence of African Pentecostal Christianity and somewhat a decline of the mainline historic churches.²⁴ It would be simplistic and a mere speculation to accept this perspective, as it is not solely the mainline churches that are in decline, some African-led Pentecostal churches have closed too, including the classical Pentecostal Aladura types. Some of the Classical Pentecostal churches have shut down completely and some have seen their membership considerably reduced.²⁵ A pastor of a Pentecostal church in London who opened another branch in Milton Keynes in England mentioned that their church is considering closing because in spite of their efforts, for three years the church membership remained at less than five people in regular Sunday attendance, although this is considered an exceptional case.²⁶

The transference of the resurgence and vitality of the African kind of Christianity to the west can on the one hand be seen as an active mission agenda, or on the other, simply as a consequence of the migration of its people either through political persecution, economic difficulties, academic pursuit and social revolts.²⁷ However as Gerrie ter Haar puts it, ‘human migration is something of all times and ages’ and ‘religion has always been a significant aspect’ of it. As a result African Pentecostal Christians who migrated to Britain have done so with their form of Christianity and have established places of worship in Britain.²⁸ Whilst

²⁴ Interactions with members and leaders of African-led Pentecostal churches from interviews and participant observations held from July 2012 to January 2013.

²⁵ An informal discussions with Kola K congregant and a member at the church for 30 years at the Eternal Sacred Order of the Seraphim and Cherubim Church at Tottenham, London. He revealed that the proliferation of the ‘New Pentecostal Churches’ have led to a decline in membership, as members children prefer the flamboyant ‘New Pentecostal Churches’. This branch of the church began on the 5th June 1965 and claims to be the oldest branch in Britain. The Eternal Sacred Order of Cherubim and Seraphim was one of the earliest African Initiated Churches from the Anglican Church Community in Western Nigeria and was founded in 1925 by Moses Orimolade Tunolase.

²⁶ In an informal discussion with a Ghanaian pastor whose main church is situated in London.

²⁷ Asamoah-Gyadu, ‘African-led Christianity in Europe: Migration and Diaspora Evangelism’, <http://www.lausannepulse.com/themedarticles.php/973?pg=all>, accessed on 22 December 2010.

²⁸ Gerrie ter Haar, *Religious Communities in the Diaspora*. (Nairobi: Acton Publishers, 2001), 2.

scholars like Asamoah-Gyadu claim that these African migrants have brought some vitality to their larger host communities in Europe, the problem is that most of these churches do not attract the indigenes of the host community due to a lack of a cross-cultural appeal, meaning that their membership remains predominantly African.²⁹ An exception to this, however, is Pastor Sunday Adelaja's Embassy of the Blessed Kingdom of God in Kiev, Ukraine, which has as an immigrant pastor, yet the majority of the members of his congregation are Ukrainians.

African Pentecostals experience difficulties in reaching out to their host community because a 'Christendom mind set' has developed in the churches. This kind of mind set according to Bosch is when the church in some way naturally begin to adjust the way it interpreted the Bible and organises itself due to the environmental pressures to reflect a new status quo. The African-led churches in Britain have developed a 'Christendom mind set' due to the economic and cultural pressures and challenges they face to fit into their new societies, thus readjusting themselves to issues within the churches themselves. An example is how the churches negotiate issues of co-habitation, which is discussed in much detail in chapter three. This has resulted in the churches becoming inward looking. According to Bosch, 'Christendom mind set' makes a dichotomy of ministry and mission and churches are therefore not reaching out to those in their host communities who may be predominantly white. As such it can be argued that the churches have neglected mission although some of them claim mission has been their focus. On that premise the mission orientation of these churches should include 'mission as ministry by the whole people of God' as Bosch puts it. There would have to be a specific mission strategy on the part of these African Pentecostals to reach out to the white

²⁹ Adogame, 'African Christian Communities in Diaspora', p. 505.

communities.³⁰ Juxtaposing this concept of Bosch onto the argument of reverse mission, would suggest that this should be a mission that targets all peoples irrespective of cultural or ethnic background: that is currently a limitation for most African Pentecostal churches. However an argument for the trend of having churches with a majority from a particular ethnic background is the question of the host community's acceptance of these churches on the whole.³¹ Some from the host community have labelled them as being too noisy, aggressive and militant in their approaches to worship and belief practices, and have even to an extent branded them abusive, and portrayed their pastors as control freaks.³² African Pentecostal migrant churches continue to provide their members with a safety net to help them to achieve a degree of security and inner strength, to counter the travail of a refugee, the pain of uprooted-ness, the alienation that comes with being a stranger and the 'experience of marginalisation in migration'.³³ These churches have resorted to setting up projects and linking up with other charitable organisations to help new entrants into Britain to integrate, to mitigate the problem Bosch describes as a 'Christendom mind set'.³⁴ However some pastors claim that opening up the churches to the community destabilises and diminishes the commitment of their members to their churches and creates the grounds for competition among the churches.³⁵ This view is equally shared by Glick Schiller, Caglar and Guldbrandsen

³⁰ David Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm shifts in Theology of Mission* (London: Orbis, 1991), 467-474.

³¹ Kim Knibbe and Marten van der Meulen, "The Role of Spatial Practices and Locality in the Constituting of the Christian African Diaspora," *African Diaspora* 2 (2009): 125-130.

³² Steven Shukor, 'African children 'at risk of ritual abuse', <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/london/6177001.stm>, accessed 20 December 2010.

³³ Ter Haar, *Religious Communities in the Diaspora*, p. 49; Jehu J. Hanciles. "Mission and Migration: Some Implications for the Twenty-first Century," *International Bulletin of Missionary Research* 27, no. 4 (2003): 150; Boris Nieswand, "Charismatic Christianity in the Context of Migration," in A. Adogame, C. Weissköppel, ed., *Religion In The Context of African Migration* (Bayreuth: Bayreuth African Studies Series, 2005), 256.

³⁴ An example of such collaboration of the church and charitable organisation in offering services to assist migrants was a PMP & Helping Hands Initiatives with International Central Gospel Church and Praise Harvest Community Chapel to offering Prince 2 Project Management Training without cost to participants. The initiative was to train people after the 2012 Olympics was awarded to London as it was anticipated there would be jobs for Project Management Professionals.

³⁵ Knibbe, 'The Role of Spatial Practices and Locality in the Constituting of the Christian African Diaspora', p. 129; There is a trend where pastors invite prominent pastors and prophets from Ghana, to speak in their churches

who argue that the migrant churches are established as an outlet for international outreach and that this probably explains why these churches bring in prophets and pastors from their homeland to revitalise and strengthen the stakes and to equip these churches for the fulfilment of their missions.³⁶ Similarly, Boris Nieswand argues that these churches do not aim to integrate their members into the host society, as is suggested by much of the literature, but rather aim to incorporate Europeans back into Christianity.³⁷ This view is also held by Krause, Schiller et al and Nieswand and may be right to an extent; however, the argument presented in this thesis is that in practice their focus is more on integrating members into their host community than it is on bringing the gospel to the host community.³⁸ I will therefore argue in Chapter 3 that the idea of integration by the churches is on a micro level and that gives rise to internal initiatives discussed in-depth in the chapter.

Further, an important issue that the above-named scholars overlook is that before the incorporation of Europeans into these churches takes place there is a unique process set in motion to assist the migrants within the churches to integrate into their host communities and contextualise their Christian message to reach out to the wider host communities. Another aspect of these migrants' lives is the transnational status derived as a response to the migration experience. Once again Fumanti and Werbner study the migrants and their relationship with the state as part of the process of integration within the wider host community, without much attention given to the processes of preparation for integration into

and these speakers somehow provide the link between their host community of churches and their places of origin. Pastors I spoke to maintain ties with their place origin by inviting prominent pastors and prophets from the place of origin.

³⁶ Schiller et al, "Beyond the Ethnic Lens," 612-633.

³⁷ Boris Nieswand, 'Ghanaian Migrants in Germany and the Social Construction of Diaspora', *African Diaspora: Transnational Journal of Culture, Economy & Society* 1, no. 1 (2008): 28-52.

³⁸ Krause, "Transnational Therapy Networks among Ghanaians in London," 235-251; Also Shiller and Krause subscribe to the use of the word incorporation instead of integration used in this study. A discussion of the development of the concepts is analysed in chapter 3.1.

the wider community.³⁹ Others such as Krause focus on the transnational status of the migrants and the residual benefits that accrue to these migrants, in spite of the distance from their homelands and the somewhat hostile conditions they face in these new communities.⁴⁰ Along a similar line Mazzucato provides an analysis of the informal insurance arrangements in the migrant's homeland as part of the reverse flow of benefits to migrants, ignoring the varied informal insurance arrangement within the migrant communities themselves.⁴¹ Mazzucato, Krause, Funmati and Werbner's tools for measuring the impact of the transnational status of the migrants have been somehow economic in their outlook as though the migrants have solely come to the new places of settlement for economic reasons. I therefore argue in chapter 2 for instance that aside from the established theories of migration, which focus on socio-economic reasons, there are also religious reasons or spiritual factors to be taken into account. For instance, a recent visit to Ghana showed that church services of many Pentecostal churches start very early and close within a shorter duration of time than was the case a few years ago. This cannot be quantified economically directly but is an obvious change in the way church is conducted in the homeland. The reason for this new trend is because pastors, leaders and members who have had some interactions with these churches both at home and abroad have influenced the way church is conducted in the homeland, thereby establishing the transnational status of the churches discussed further in chapter 5. Therefore in summary, situating my study within the spectrum of research of neo-Pentecostal churches in Britain and their transnational status, I will look at the internal processes of preparation that orientate the individuals within these churches towards integration, contextualisation and maintaining a transnational status. This is an aspect of the African-led churches in general and Ghanaian-led churches in particular that is often

³⁹ Fumanti, "The Moral Economy of the African Diaspora," 7; Mazzucato, "Virtuous Citizenship," pp. 3-12.

⁴⁰ Krause, "Transnational Therapy Networks among Ghanaians in London," 235-251.

⁴¹ Nieswand, "Ghanaian Migrants in Germany and the Social Construction of Diaspora," 28-52.

overlooked and yet produces the socio-religious, economic and political responses that are often used to measure the impact of these migrant churches.

1.4 Theoretical Framework

The research will generally examine the process by which immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement.

I use a migrations systems theory as the base for the theoretical framework. The migration systems theory whose proponents have included Mabogunje, Portes and Borocz, Levitt and Kritz et al. has been widely defined it as the relationship that exists between sets of places linked by the flows and reverse flows of the essentials of human existence, such as goods, services, information and people.⁴² Mabogunje's focus was on the rural-urban migration within Africa and Kritz took it further to include international migration. Castles and Miller summarise the parameters of the theory that:

Migration systems approach is part of a trend towards a more inclusive and interdisciplinary understanding, which is emerging as a new mainstream of migration theory – at least outside the domain of neo-classical orthodoxy. The basic principle is that any migratory movement can be seen as a result of interacting macro and microstructures. Macro structures refer to large-scale institutional factors, while microstructures embrace the networks, practices and beliefs of the migrants themselves. These two levels are linked by a number of intermediate mechanisms, which are often referred to as 'meso-structures'.⁴³

⁴²Akin Mabogunje, "Systems Approach to a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration," *Geographical Analysis* 2, no. 1 (1970):1-18.; Alejandro Portes, and J. Borocz, "Contemporary Immigration: Theoretical Perspectives on its Determinants and Modes of Incorporation," *International Migration Review* 23, no. 2 (1989): 606-630; Peggy Levitt, "Local-Level Global Religion: The case of US Dominican Migration," *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 37, no.19 (1998): 74-89.; Kritz, *International Migration Systems: A Global Introduction*.

⁴³ Castles and Miller, *The Age of Migration: International Population Movements in the Modern World* (3rd ed),(Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1993)

Considering the fact that the focus of the thesis is to analyse the internal integration strategies, this framework would assist in analysing the informal social networks developed by the migrants themselves.

Further to the development of the theories in this field, is the transnational theory. I include this as part of my chosen analytical framework for understanding international migration, as stimulated by the work of Glick-Schiller, Basch and Blanc-Szanton. This theory examines the factors and conditions that necessitate the continuance of ties between the immigrant's present abode and place of origins. This includes issues of education, such as the development of the school curriculum to reflect the fact that the socialisation of many transmigrant children takes place in an interconnected social space encompassing both the immigrants' home country and their new home.⁴⁴ They postulate that there are three main conjoining forces that give rise to transnational immigration, enumerated as:

- (1) A global restructuring of capital based on changing forms of capital accumulation has led to deteriorating social and economic conditions in both labour sending and labour receiving countries with no location a secure terrain of settlement.
- (2) Racism in both the U.S. and Europe contributes to the economic and political insecurity of the newcomers and their descendants; and
- (3) The nation building projects of both home and host society build political loyalties among immigrants to each nation-state in which they maintain social ties.

⁴⁴ Nina Glick Schiller, "Transmigrants and Nation-States: Something Old and Something New in the U.S. Immigrant Experience," In *The Handbook of International Migration: The American Experience*, Charles Hirshman, Philip Kasinitz, and Josh DeWind, eds. (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 2009), 94 -119.

The theory takes cognisance of contemporary migrants' or transmigrants' financial commitments to their families at the place of origin and their involvement in the social and political development of their home countries notwithstanding the steps they take towards incorporation. This theoretical framework rejects the idea that immigrants' having a settled status ruptures their ties with homelands and transforms them into a sentiment rather than an actual connection to their homeland. Rather it describes an emerging pattern among immigrants who, though they have a settled status, also maintain significant ties to the place they consider as their homeland.⁴⁵

This leads to the examination of the various factors that contribute to migration, which are discussed in chapter 2.1. Upon arrival in the land of settlement, immigrants seek economic, social, and political engagement. There are internal processes for preparing migrant church members for integration. These takes the form of programmes, orientation through sermons preached, publications, seminars and workshops, and informal arrangements set up by members of these congregations to mitigate the cost of economic, social and political adjustment in the host society. Both within and without the churches there are also extensive support networks established to assist in the integration of migrants.

To examine the internal preparation towards integration therefore, I intend to use Clifford's theory, which lays emphasis on the locality and the host societies that the communities are embedded in as a guide.⁴⁶ I will draw on Robin's work, which does not consider that integration is a permanent stage but rather an on-going process and suggests that migration is in fact dynamic, with migrants constantly adapting to the changing legal framework of their

⁴⁵ Again the settled status as would be described in the thesis unlike Schiller's definition covers those who irrespective of their legal residence status consider their present abode as home.

⁴⁶ James Clifford, "Diasporas", *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 302-338.

host country.⁴⁷ These perspectives will capture the internal preparation and processes by which the immigrants integrate through the assistance provided by the churches, as their spirituality is central to sustaining their dignity and affirmation of life.⁴⁸ Migrants' connection to a church that has links to their cultural background also affirms the ethnic pathway this research uses to establish how the church assists members to integrate, contrary to Gulbrandsen et al's view that this method is contradictory. It is not contradictory in the sense that most of the Christian migrants' lives are intertwined with the church and their self-definition. It is at this point that the beliefs and practices of the migrants in relation to the church are essential as their self-definition incorporates political beliefs such as pan-African beliefs.

To illustrate the practicality of this chosen framework, one of the four churches I have taken as a case studies for this research, the Dominion Centre, has recently opened branches of the church in Ghana although it originated with a Ghanaian pastor in Edmonton, North London and has recently moved into a 3 million pound (£3m) facility in Wood Green, North London. The other, the Freedom Centre International that also originated in Britain has recently started the construction of a university on a large tract of land in Ghana. The two other churches, ICGC and RCI, originate in Ghana with headquarters in Accra. The steps taken by these churches involve the transfer of capital to the homeland to improve upon the lives of residents there and also maintain strong ties as a result of their investments made. For this reason the churches are very much involved in the politics of both host communities and country of origin. This particular church that was building a university moved into a multi-million pound facility in South London in 2011. On their opening the Vice President of Ghana was invited,

⁴⁷ B. Robin, "Atlas of West African Migrations to Europe 1985-1993," in *Atlas of West African migrations to Europe 1985-1993* (Paris: Orstom, 1996), 109.

⁴⁸ Roswith Gerloff, "The Significance of the African Christian Diaspora in Europe: A Report on Four Meetings in 1997/8," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 29, no. 1 (1999): 116.

was represented by the Mayor of Tema, a city in Ghana at the ceremony. Other dignitaries from England such as councillors of the local council, the police chief constable of the area, a Labour Party peer, and a baroness from the House of Lords were also in attendance at the ceremonies, all of who gave speeches. This is a clear indication of the kind of political engagement that these immigrant churches have sought to establish with their transnational status. Although Schiller et al's theoretical framework helps situate the study; there are issues that this study addresses that have previously been overlooked that represent an addition to the knowledge in this field, such as the detailed processes of the churches' integration strategies and how the expression of their beliefs and practices gives them a unique identity.

1.5 Methodology

This section describes the technique employed in collecting data and analysing the data collected, with the use of specific instruments.⁴⁹ The methodology introduces the research strategy and the empirical techniques applied in this study.

Social and anthropological studies available on the subject have been used to find out about Ghanaian indigenous cosmology and communities, especially about beliefs and praxis and their continuity and discontinuity in Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches. This is essential because social anthropology examines social patterns and practices across or within a particular culture with a concern to ascertain similarities and differences among and within societies. Even more important is the fact that social anthropological studies emphasise participant observation, which involves placing oneself into the research context for a first-

⁴⁹Alan Bryman, *Social Research Methods* 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 27.

hand feel, as was done in this study.⁵⁰ Tools for gathering historical data are used to trace the history of migration and Ghanaian-led churches in Britain and specifically in London from the perspective of an African migrant.⁵¹ Due to the fact that the thesis is set within the sphere of religious studies, it follows the trajectory of the churches' theology rooted in their understanding of the scriptures relevant to their beliefs and identity as a community. For example the handling of the subject of tithing, and giving is analysed in the churches in chapter three. Visits to some of these churches in London reveal that they are potentially a group that present the researcher with much to examine and yet little scholarly and detailed research has been conducted on them. The rationale for the study of the Ghanaian-led churches is that they predominantly attract Ghanaians and other West Africans. The growing number of Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in London also makes them significant since they form approximately 8% of all black majority churches in Britain.⁵²

The fieldwork was carried out in two phases. Phase one involved undertaking an inductive study of ICGC and FCI. The ICGC has been planted as a missionary endeavour by the parent church in Ghana and therefore maintains ties to the church in Ghana. The FCI started in Britain by a pastor's own initiative. The pastor previously belonged to a Pentecostal church in Ghana but the church in Britain has no church in Ghana that it looks up to as its parent. The inductive phase of the study began with the search for patterns from observation and the explanations for those patterns. For example taking the subject of deliverance as discussed thoroughly in chapter four, at the inductive phase a pattern was established that the FCI's

⁵⁰ A definition of Sociocultural anthropology as given by the American Anthropological Association. <http://www.aaanet.org/about/whatisanthropology.cfm>

⁵¹ Virginia Becher, *Black Christians: black church traditions in Britain*. (Birmingham: Centre for Black and White Christian Partnership and Westhill RE Centre, 1995); Stephen Hunt and Nicola Lightly, "The British black Pentecostal 'revival': identity and belief in the 'new' Nigerian churches," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 24, (2001): 104-124.; William K. Kay, "A history of the charismatic movement in Britain and the United States of America," *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 32, (2011): 363-364.

⁵² This percentage calculation was based on a count done by the researcher from the website directory of the Black Majority Churches in the UK. <http://www.bmcdirectory.co.uk/index.php>, accessed 20 December 2011.

beliefs differs from ICGC's. The use of the inductive approach to the study at this stage expresses the relationship between theory and research.⁵³ The approach to the second phase of the study was deductive, and involved testing out the theories derived from the first phase on RCI and DC Churches, which are of the same category as the first. Using the same example of the subject of deliverance, the differences in the beliefs were confirmed, but it was clear that these had more to do with British cultural infusion into the practice. This kind of approach is used in sociology to guide empirical enquiry.⁵⁴ This research strategy of commencing with an inductive enquiry, establishing theories from that enquiry and then testing the theory or theories on another similar or contrasting sample, is known as the empirical cycle.⁵⁵ It is a technique accepted by empirical researchers because it has the benefit of developing in the research process a cycle that is used in the natural process of human learning.⁵⁶ Therefore at the empirical cycle stage of the research as earlier indicated, one of the churches with their origins in Ghana was chosen alongside another with their origins in Britain.

In this study, I have researched ICGC, FCI, RCI and DC, all Ghanaian congregations in London and have used the basic form of the empirical cycle in a broad sense to make sense of the unique examples chosen and of the data received from the examples. This is followed by a theory phase, where I relate the findings of the study to existing literature, and then a deductive phase, where the theories that arose from the first two phases were tested on two other churches of similar and contrasting backgrounds respectively as illustrated above. I start with a theoretical base to test observations and findings, whilst there are other instances where

⁵³ Bryman, *Social Research Methods* 2nd ed., p.9.

⁵⁴ Robert K Merton, *On Theoretical Sociology* (New York: Free Press, 1967), 39.

⁵⁵ Aariaan E. de Groot, "Methodology; Foundations of Inference and Research in the Behavioral Sciences", in *Methodology; Foundations of Inference and Research in the Behavioral Sciences* (The Hague: Mouton, 1969), 1.

⁵⁶ Johannes A. van der Ven, *Practical Theology : An Empirical Approach* (Kampen : Kok Pharos, 1993), 112-113.

observations are made and findings are developed into a theory, and both at some point become interdependent on the other.⁵⁷ For instance, there is an aspect of Pentecostal prayers that ‘binds and looses’ the forces at work against them in the cosmos, this serves as a theoretical base. However, it is observed that ICGC and RCI take up the ‘bind and loose it’ aspect of the Pentecostal prayer to a whole new level which can be identified as language used in libation prayer. The conclusion at the end of engaging the inductive and deductive approaches reveal that these churches that were started in Britain as an offshoot of the parent churches in Ghana are more influenced by Ghanaian Pentecostal beliefs than FCI and DC are. All the fieldwork for both the inductive and the deductive phases of this research took place in London, with the participating churches mentioned earlier being situated only a few miles apart from each other.

I will now give the reasons for choosing particular methods, and particular churches and participants as case studies for the research. Case studies can normally be differentiated in two ways, namely, single or multiple case studies and holistic or embedded case studies. A single case study is where a single unit such as a church or ministry in the church is studied. In a multiple case study, it is a number of churches or even ministries within the churches that are subjects of the enquiry, as is the case with this research. Yin’s distinction between holistic and embedded case studies has to do with the subject of analysis in the case study. In an instance of a holistic case study the subject of examination is the entire case, whereas in an embedded case study, the subject of the enquiry is a sub-unit or process within the case.⁵⁸ ‘In an organisational study, the embedded units might also be ‘process’ units, such as meetings,

⁵⁷ Derek Layder and Sung, J. “The Empirical Correlates of Action and Structure: The Transition from School to Work,” *Sociology* 25, (1991): 447-464.

⁵⁸ Robert K. Yin, *Case Study Research : Design and Methods* (London : Sage Publications, 2009), 41.

roles, or locations'.⁵⁹ My study was an embedded case study, because I studied four churches and their members, focussing on the processes of how they carve a transnational status for themselves, through the integration strategies adopted. I have not approached it holistically as the study does not involve the whole of the churches, with all their activities, although the churches' beliefs and praxis are briefly examined as part of the process of contextualising within their local setting.⁶⁰

A visit to these churches reveal their pastors, leadership teams and congregations are predominantly Ghanaian migrants, with the exception of Dominion Centre that claims to have over 35 nationalities represented, who are also mainly migrants, and an associate pastor who is a Nigerian. What makes these chosen churches a rich source of data is the fact that they all operate from single locations and they show some similarities and interesting differences in their origination, history, leadership, membership compositions, vision and emphasis. General inferences and illustrations have been drawn from other Pentecostal churches within London and generally throughout Britain because they provide an interesting perspective to the study.

The total population for this study are the four churches named above. In total sixty persons were interviewed with a distribution of ten from each church, totalling forty, the other twenty were randomly chosen from Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches other than the churches chosen for the case study. Out of the ten persons interviewed in each church, two interviewees were from the leadership of the churches. A total of eight interviewees were people in leadership of these churches and 32 interviewees were from the membership of the churches. Out of the eight from the leadership interviewed, three were women. Twenty out of the 32 church members interviewed were women. Interviewees from two of the churches FCI

⁵⁹Yin, *Case Study Research*, p.41.

⁶⁰ Robert Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (NewYork : Orbis Books, 1985), 18.

(Freedom Centre International) and ICGC (International Central Gospel Church) were put together as focus groups for discussions in their respective churches. Due to time and space constraints multiple approaches to interviewing such as personal interviews and focus groups were employed. Where there needed to be following up after the initial interview, emails and telephone were used to obtain further information from the interviewees. The interviews included open-ended questions, which were mainly used at the inductive stage, and semi-structured interviews were used mainly during the deductive stage. The research also involved handing out questionnaires in the form of a survey. The aim of the questionnaire was not to gain an analytical view of the issue of the integration of Ghanaian migrants in Pentecostal churches but to seek views generally on issues of beliefs, practices and church initiatives. Marsh argues, ‘there are some issueswhich most people have stable and fairly consistent views’, and can be obtained through a survey.⁶¹

Participatory observation was undertaken in the churches and further analysis was done of the sermons preached by the pastors of these churches. I attended church services in each of the churches I studied with two of those visits being their Sunday service. The whole observation was undertaken for about 6 months. Participatory observation is when a researcher immerses himself or herself in a social setting for a period of time, listening, observing behaviour and asking questions.⁶² Participant observation has the advantage that the data gathered are rooted in their natural setting rather than the artificial circumstances in which most data are collected, for instance through interviews.⁶³ Participant observation was used along with the other methods of data collection.⁶⁴ This was done both at the churches’ Sunday and weekday

⁶¹ Catherine Marsh, *The Survey Method: The Contribution of Surveys to Sociological Explanation*, Martin Bulmer, ed. Contemporary Research Series. (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 146.

⁶² Bryman, *Social Research Methods* 2nd ed., p. 542.

⁶³ Patrick McNeill, *Research Methods* 2nd ed. (London: Routledge, 1990), 69.

⁶⁴ Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson, *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. (London: Tavistock

worship services because some of the services held in the week had different emphases. Participants (churches and individuals) recruited to participate in the project were given a consent form. The consent form divulged the general purpose of the study, and clarified from the outset that participation was entirely voluntary, and that if there were any concerns at any point during participation, participants were free to withdraw from the research. The letter also emphasized that all responses to the interviews would be treated as confidential from the outset with coding used for identification purposes and anonymity assured. Finally, the debriefing form provided personal contact details in the event that participants want their data removed from the database after completing the interviews.

My personal experience as a Pentecostal church leader, a Ghanaian and an Akan came into play regarding the collection of data. This position placed me within the brackets of an insider but at the same time as an outsider to be able to do a rigorous analysis of observations. However, it is acknowledged that irrespective of my approach, the ethno-national characteristics can be placed in the centre-stage, framing people immigration status or nationality.⁶⁵ In spite of the fact that some scholars may prefer to consider me as an apparent insider but I am an outsider. I am an outsider, for the reason that such as my migration status that I have never lived in the neighbourhoods of my informants, has never been an undocumented migrant, and has never experienced what has shaped their lives.⁶⁶ In some cases I had to resort to the use of a local Ghanaian dialect to put the respondents at ease and to make it possible for them to express themselves. Generally the respondents were willing to talk to me because I had been introduced by their pastor to them, on the other hand when they knew who I was, a couple of them were not bold enough to express their independent views

Publications, 1983), 119.

⁶⁵ Carling et al., "Beyond the insider-outsider divide in migration research," . 36-54.

⁶⁶ Cecilia Menjiver, "*Fragmented Ties: Salvadoran Immigrant Networks in America*," *Migraciones Internacionales* 2, no. 1 (2003): 245.

on church related issues for fear it would be passed on to their pastors and leaders. As a result I had to explain the confidentiality of all information given to me, and the anonymity of all respondents. This was also clearly stated on the confidentiality statement, which was approved by the university on the letter that introduces me as a research student of the University. Throughout the thesis, names of those interviewed have been changed to fulfil the ethical standards for a study like this.

This dissertation analyses several integration stories and transnational activities of Ghanaian migrants in Britain from the specific angle of carving a unique status for themselves. The stories begin with family forming or family reunification. The stories are about Ghanaian migrants who may or may not know anyone in Britain and who have nonetheless decided to be a part of their Pentecostal church, and about the subsequent strategies these churches adopt to assist members to integrate into British society, whilst they maintain sufficient ties with Ghana to carve a transnational status for themselves. The narratives from some of the respondents as summarised in this study began with description and are dialectical as often related to qualitative analysis.⁶⁷ This stresses the importance of orality in relation to this study as Hollenweger notes in relation to the growth and expansion of Pentecostalism.⁶⁸

The respondents have been grouped into age groups, educational background, profession or occupation, ethnicity, sex, marital status, country of origin. I have drawn tables of representations, collated statistics and used the results for analysis in various chapters of the thesis. The data collected was narrowed down into themes for better organisation of the thesis. This was done partly to ascertain how these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches are

⁶⁷ Danny L. Jorgensen, *Participant Observation: A Methodology for Human Studies* (London: Sage Publications, 1989), 110.

⁶⁸ Walter J. Hollenweger, "The Black Roots of Pentecostalism," in *Pentecostals After a Century: Global Perspective on a Movement in Transition*. (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 14-21.

integrating, contextualising and creating a transnational status for themselves. The thematic approach, emphasising what was said rather than how it was said, assisted in the analysis of narratives from the migrants.⁶⁹

The data collected has been subsequently organised under broad themes: history; integration; contextualisation and transnational status creation. These broad themes constitute the chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5.

A major part of the research was based on the analysis of available literature, therefore I used literary and historical records of the beginnings of the African Pentecostal churches in Britain both published and unpublished.⁷⁰ I used library resources at the University of Birmingham and the Open University Library to carry out my literature research. I held discussions with a spectrum of leaders of Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches outside of the churches used as case studies, as well as with other members of Ghanaian-led churches but not of the Pentecostal tradition. In addition I analysed sermons and training and workshop materials prepared and used by the pastors of the churches and notes taken at other church forums.

1.6 Limitations

The research is limited to the internal integration strategies, the contextualisation of beliefs and practices and the transnational statuses of the churches. However Ghanaian-led churches in Britain are growing in size and presence and their history is intertwined with other African-led Pentecostal churches in Britain.

⁶⁹ Bryman, *Social Research Methods* 2nd ed., p. 412.

⁷⁰ An unpublished resource material provided by Prof David Killingray on the diary entries of Thomas Brem Wilson, a Pioneer Ghanaian Pentecostal church leader in Britain from 1899-1925.

As a result of the nature of the research there is a possibility of potential limitations associated with interviewees or respondents and the fact that although these churches are predominantly Ghanaian most of them have members of other African nationalities and also have ties in other parts of Africa too. That notwithstanding, the findings of the research would be applicable to other African-led churches in principle and practice since they have much in common. For instance, there are a lot of commonalities between the indigenous cosmologies of Africans and African migrants; therefore the findings would be very much applicable.

1.7 Structure of Thesis

This thesis is laid out in six chapters, beginning with this introductory chapter. Chapter 2 explores the migration and migration history of African-led Pentecostal churches in Britain. In this chapter I briefly discuss the various theories associated with the factors that give rise to migration in general and then move on to consider the migration of Black Africans to Britain; I then situate Ghanaian-led churches within African-led Pentecostal churches and global Pentecostalism as a whole. In order to understand the Ghanaian-led churches, I examine the Ghanaian indigenous cosmologies and communities as a whole and finally look at the history of the four churches chosen as the case study.

Chapters 3 to 5 are devoted to the fieldwork undertaken in the first and second phase of the study and therefore contain critical analysis of stories, anecdotes, observations, data and existing theories related to the issues identified and situating the emerging theories from the study within the appropriate contexts. Chapter 3 explores the integration strategies adopted by the churches in assisting migrants and the emerging multi-cultural identity that migrants tend to develop as part of the process of the integrating into British society. Chapter 4 examines

issues of contextualisation by the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in their appropriation of specific Ghanaian Pentecostal beliefs and praxis in their churches in Britain and how they manage the public perception of these practices. Chapter 5 examines the ripple effect of the transnational status the churches assumes as a result of their continued ties with their places of origin. In chapter 6, I summarise the various findings that emerge as a result of the critical analysis and propose areas for further research.

CHAPTER TWO

MIGRATION AND THE HISTORY OF GHANAIAN-LED CHURCHES IN BRITAIN

Examining the transnational status of any group encompasses their migration to their current place of settlement, and the maintenance of ties to their homeland. A thorough discussion of factors that give rise to migration is therefore needed to set the stage for a meaningful examination of the process of integration which leads to the kind of transnational status migrants assume. The discussion in this chapter will be a discussion that moves from the general to the particular in international migration. The focus will be on international migration in general and African migration to Britain in particular. It will also involve looking at the history of the migrant churches chosen as the case studies.

2.1 Analysis of Migration Theories and Factors Precipitating Migration

There is a growing debate among academics about the on-going theoretical basis for understanding international migration due to its fluid nature. This dissatisfaction has arisen from the fact that there is a need to develop a theory that captures current trends in migration, given the current surge in migration around the world, and from the absence of a consistent theory that captures even the minority of people whose reasons for migration may be unconventional. Most developed nations on earth have in part become multicultural and a multi-ethnic society with the influx of migrants from all over the world. The pace of this change has not been matched by the development of a theory to understand the forces that drive migration, although various attempts have been made to put current migration trends in

context. This observation is confirmed when Massey asserts that ‘the complexity of migration and its multifaceted nature requires a sophisticated theory that incorporates a variety of perspectives, levels, and assumptions’ to define it appropriately.⁷¹ It has to be noted however that the development of sophisticated a theory as suggested by Massey presents a herculean task as the dynamics of human existence keep changing and therefore what would precipitate a move by an individual to another geographical location could be fluid over the course of time. Integrating the current major theories of international migration would make for a better comprehension of the forces that drive it. Previous theories of migration include neoclassical economics, new economics of migration, dual labour market theory and world systems theory. Current trends in migration have prompted theories such as the migration systems theory and the transnational theory. The neoclassical economic model returns a clear empirical prognosis, which, in principle, should be readily confirmable: that the volume of international migration is directly and meaningfully related, over time and across countries, to the size of the international gap in wage rates. This theory has been divided into macro and micro theories. The macro theory that was originally developed by Lewis, Ranis and Fei, and Harris and Todaro, focussed on geographic differences between the supply of and demand for labour.⁷² An antithesis to neoclassical economic theory, the new economics of migration concentrates on the household or family, rather than the individual, as the pertinent decision making unit. It posits that migration is a response to income risk and to failures in a variety of markets, which together constrain local income prospects and hold back risk spreading.⁷³

⁷¹ Douglas S. Massey and others, “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” *Population and Development Review* 19, no. 3 (1993): 456.

⁷² Ranis, Gustav, and J. C. H. Fei. “A theory of economic development,” *America Economic Review* 51, (1961): 533-565.; Harris J .R., and Michael P. Todaro, “Migration, unemployment development: A two-sector analysis’,” *American Economic Review* 60, (1970): 126-142.; Lewis, W. Arthur, “Economic development with unlimited supplies of labor,” *The Manchester School of Economic and Social Studies* 22, (1954): 139-191; Todaro, Michael P. Todaro, “A model of labour migration and urban unemployment in less developed Countries,” *The American Economic Review* 59, (1969): 138-48.

⁷³ Massey et al, “Theories of International Migration,” 437.

Proponents of this position have been Stark and Bloom, Taylor, Katz and Levhari who add that the direct test of this theory would be to relate the presence or absence of such market deficiencies to households' propensities to take part in international migration.⁷⁴ Dual labour market theory postulates a bifurcated occupational framework and a dual pattern of economic organisation for advanced industrial societies, but 'in practice it has proven unmanageable to validate this segmented market structure empirically'.⁷⁵ Rather than trying to validate the empirical framework of the labour market, therefore, a more effective strategy might be to concentrate on the theory's prognoses with regard to patterns of international movement, which are moderately precise and impartially testable.⁷⁶ Piore and others argue that immigration is driven by conditions of labour demand rather than supply. If one were to specify a model of international migration flows too it would be world systems theory, therefore, one would want to include indicators of preceding colonial connections, the prevalence of common languages, the intensity of trade relations, the existence of transportation and communication links, and the relative frequency of communications and travel between the countries. This is the position taken by sociological theorists such as Portes, Walton, Petras, Castells and Morawska, which builds upon an earlier work by Wallerstein. This position states that the desire for higher profit and greater wealth spur on owners and managers of capitalist firms to enter poor countries on the peripheries of the world economy in search of the necessities for production and new consumer markets for

⁷⁴Oded Stark and David E. Bloom, "The new economics of labor migration," *American Economic Review* 75, (1985): 173-178.; Eliakim Katz, and Oded Stark, "Labor migration and risk aversion in less developed countries," *Journal of Labor Economics* 4, (1986): 131-149.; Taylor, J. Edward, "Differential migration networks information and risk," in Oded Stark(ed.), *Research in Human Capital and Development* 4, *Migration, Human Capital, and Development* (Greenwich Conn.: JAI Press, 1986):147-171.; Oded Stark and D. Levhari. "On migration and risk in LDCs," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 31, (1982): 191-196.

⁷⁵ Glen G. Cain, "The challenge of segmented labour market theories to orthodox theory: A Survey," *Journal of Economic Literature* 14, (1976): 1215-1258.

⁷⁶ Massey et al, "Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal," 441.

their products.⁷⁷

The migration systems theory places international migration as a consequence of the interaction of nation-states and the ‘congruent sociocultural, geopolitical, and economic factors and policies’.⁷⁸ This interaction, which creates interdependence between the nation states and the factors mentioned above, ‘gives rise to a sustained sizeable bilateral migration flows such that the determination of a migration system can presumably be made on the basis of these largely exogenous characteristics’.⁷⁹ Further to the migration systems theory is the transnational theory, which encompasses an emerging migrant population who maintain a network of social relations which link together, the place of origin and the place of settlement, and whose lives are influenced by occurrences in both. The multiple networks of relations may cover areas such as: familial, economic, social, organisational, religious and political that transcends borders and occurs simultaneously.⁸⁰

Theories proposed to explain the origins and persistence of international migration are fluid in nature due to the constantly changing circumstances of human existence. Therefore rather than adopting the narrow argument of theoretical exclusivity to any particular theory, I take up the broader position that causal processes applicable to international migration might operate on multiple levels concurrently. In view of this, I highlight the emergence of another reason: the God-factor or the religious factor as discussed later in the body of the thesis as the religious factor. Evidence gathered from migrants suggests that this has so far not been

⁷⁷ Alejandro Portes, and John Walton, *Labor, Class, and the International System*. (New York: Academic Press, 1981); Elizabeth M. Petras, “The global labor market in the modern world-economy,” in Mary M. Kritz, Charles B. Keely, and Silvano M. Tomasi (eds.), *Global Trends in Migration Theory and Research on International Population Movements* (Staten Island, N.Y.: Center for Migration Studies, 1981), 44-63.; Ewa Morawska, “The sociology and historiography of immigration,” in Virginia Yans-McLaughlin (ed.), *Immigration Reconsidered History, Sociology, and Politics*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 187-240.

⁷⁸ Adogame, *African Christian Diapora*, pp. 6-8.

⁷⁹ Adogame, *African Christian Diapora*, pp. 7.

⁸⁰ Schiller et al., “Towards a Transnational Perspective on Migration,” 203.

adequately covered by existing theories. Establishing which of the explanations is useful is not only a logical task but also an empirical one due to its dependence on individuals, groups and trends.⁸¹

2.1.1. The Missing ‘Religious’ Factor of Migration

The theories of migration discussed eliminate to some extent, the probability that migration could occur for religious reasons, such as in the case of reverse mission, where people from the Southern Hemisphere are returning with the gospel to the people of the Northern Hemisphere who first brought the gospel to people of the south.⁸²

In other words, religious organisations within a noted sending country could send people to foreign lands to establish churches either for members who might have migrated for economic purposes, but these churches' intentions may not exclusively be economic. There could be economic intentions for these sending churches, because in some cases monies are sent in the form of remittances to support local projects of the churches in the homelands.⁸³ For example there are churches like the Trinity Baptist Church in London that has an orphanage in Accra, Ghana and funds are raised periodically to support this orphanage.⁸⁴ In instances where migrants are sent for religious purposes, these become religious migrants, although upon entry into their receiving country, they are not immune from the other economic factors discussed throughout this section. The processes of would-be migrants knowing they are sent by God to migrate, involves visiting intermediaries which include ‘men of God’ and ‘prophets’ who

⁸¹ Massey et al, “Theories of International Migration: A Review and Appraisal,” 455.

⁸² Obadare and Adebani, “The Visa God,” 31 – 46.

⁸³ Kalu, “The Andrew Syndrome: Models in Understanding Nigerian Diaspora,” 61 -85.

⁸⁴ Trinity Baptist Church is part of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and a predominantly Ghanaian church led by Kingsley Appiagyei. Although officially a Baptist church, its outlook, beliefs and practices are Pentecostal in nature.

sanction their quest to migrate from the beginning, with their visa applications.⁸⁵ Besides the ‘organised religious migration’ through the churches and other religious agencies, there are also individuals who migrate because they feel ‘led’ by God to migrate as missionaries. Although these individuals’ mission may not preclude making economic gains through secular work at their destination, they believe God has sent them. Others have also found the motive and a ‘higher calling’ of God for their migration upon arrival although their initial desire to travel was mainly economic.⁸⁶

Whatever the case, given the size and scale of present day migration flows, and given the potential for misapprehension and discord inherent in the appearance of diverse, multi-ethnic societies around the world, political decisions about international migration have often been deemed either sound or controversial and populist depending on the political climate at the time. An emerging understanding however is that there is a strong link between migration and globalisation.

2.1.2 Migration and Globalisation

Globalisation has led to the liberalisation of market economies and consequently, ‘borders moving across people’.⁸⁷ The movement of ‘borders across people’ have also meant that people move across borders, and thus become the basis for world migration. It must be noted, however, that raw materials and goods generally flow with less hindrance in pursuit of

⁸⁵ Obadare and Adebawji, “The Visa God,” 40.

⁸⁶ The view of a group Ghanaian Pentecostal migrants in a focus group discussion.

⁸⁷ Zygmunt Bauman, *Wasted Lives : Modernity and Its Outcasts*, (Oxford : Polity, 2004).

‘globalisation’, but the movements of people, whether groups or individuals, are more circumscribed.⁸⁸

The motive for migration may not be limited to the search for better standards of living but can also be influenced by numerous issues, which may or may not include economic factors. World migration is increasing, and its nature, as well as the factors that lead to migration, are constantly changing. ‘The world’s population of immigrants has increased at a rate surpassing world population growth and the potential for future growth in international migration is nothing less than astounding’.⁸⁹ For instance, migrants who have established family and community ties in receiving nations may choose to stay rather than return to countries of origin, in spite of the challenges they may be faced with.⁹⁰ Others migrate because of famine and other natural disasters, civil unrest, war and disease. The cause of some of the conditions that create migration itself has been laid at the door of developed nations. According to Bauman, de Wet and Ward, much of the negative depiction by the western media and the imposition of their understanding of what constitutes negative and positive migration affect migrants in their receiving nations. Migration is constructed as positive when required by receiving nations for their own purposes, and as negative when it is not required or when refuge is being sought. Media stories position migrants as the cause of problems; however, the demands of capital lead not only to extremes of poverty and wealth but also to natural disasters of flood, famine and disease which can be attributed in part to nations of the western

⁸⁸ Bauman, *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts*.

⁸⁹ Douglas S. Massey and J. Edward Taylor, *International Migration: Prospects and Policies in a Global Market. International Studies in Demography* (Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2004), 3.

⁹⁰ Sommerville, “Immigration in the United Kingdom,”

world meeting their own needs at the expense of others and refusing to admit their contribution to some forced migrations.⁹¹

In addition, culture is an integral aspect of migration; migrants have their own-shared cultural understanding and practices, which are as valuable to them as the cultural understandings and practices of receiving nations are to their members.⁹² Cultural ‘differences’ and the obvious impossibility of belonging within more than one cultural region may be used to justify social disparities and exclusion in some cases. The consequence of the attitude of Western countries to migration discussed here is that much of what is considered international or transnational or labour migration today metamorphoses people of a wide variety of social rankings in the countries they migrate from, into labourers at the bottom social ranks of the countries they migrate to.⁹³ This demotion to the bottom of the social ranks in receiving countries contributes to peculiar problems, which non-governmental organisations, third sector organisations, the churches and the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches seek to mitigate, through their initiatives, activities and sermons. Members of these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches, as Black Africans in Britain, for instance, have a peculiar history that reflects their positioning within British society. There is the need to understand Ghanaian migration to Britain in order to appropriately situate the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches’ history within the spectrum of the immigration policy debate.

⁹¹ Zygmunt Bauman, *Consuming Life* (Cambridge: Polity, 2007); C. J. De Wet, “Development-Induced Displacement : Problems, Policies and People,” (ed.) Chris De Wet, *Studies in Forced Migration: Vol. 18* (New York: Oxford Berghahn Books, 2006); P. D. Ward, “The Flooded Earth; Our Future in a World without Ice Caps,” *Arctic Antarctic And Alpine Research* 42, 4 (2010): 498-499.

⁹² Pat Cox, “Movements and Migratory Processes: Roles and Responsibilities of Education and Learning,” in Zvi Bekerman and Thomas Geisen, *International Handbook of Migration, Minorities and Education: Understanding Cultural and Social Differences in Processes of Learning*. Zvi Bekerman, Thomas Geisen, (ed.) (Dordrecht ; New York : Springer Science, 2012), 1.

⁹³ Erind Pajo, *International Migration, Social Demotion, and Imagined Advancement: An Ethnography of Socioglobal Mobility* (New York : Springer, 2008), 2.

2.1.3 Ghanaian Migration to Britain and the Immigration Policy Debate

The presence of Africans in Britain can be dated back to antiquity; however, it was not until 1991 that their relevance to British society was recognised by the inclusion of ‘Black African’ as an ethnic category on the census forms.⁹⁴ This categorisation has remained on equal opportunities monitoring forms to date, as part of the legislation to combat discrimination in employment. Migrants from Africa have come from potentially 53 different countries on their continent, although the number of migrants from each of these countries varies. The migration of Ghanaians does not follow the trend, for instance of Caribbean migration, whom the government allowed into the country to fill employment vacancies during the shortage of manpower in Britain after the Second World War. There are migrants from Africa who made their way to Britain for asylum purposes to seek refuge from political persecution, as well as for social reasons, further education, better standards of living and other purposes, which include religious intentions. After many years of the immigration debate as to the positive and negative effects of net migration into Britain, government policy introduced during the period in which Tony Blair was Prime Minister held that regular, large-scale legal immigration was necessary to the prolonged prosperity and international competitiveness of the UK economy. Indeed, David Blunkett, the cabinet minister who was responsible for immigration policy declared that he saw ‘no obvious limit’ to immigration.⁹⁵ On the whole, the new communiqué found much favour among the liberal, and especially among the metropolitan elite, including industry interests and economic critics as well as left-liberal political groups. It enjoyed the general support from the broadcast media, notably the BBC and much of the high-end press,

⁹⁴ Patricia O. Daley, “Black Africans in Great Britain: Spatial Concentration and Segregation,” *Urban Studies* 35, 10 (1998): 1703.

⁹⁵ http://newsvote.bbc.co.uk/mpapps/pagetools/email/news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk_politics/3265219.stm Cited in David Coleman and Robert Rowthorn, “The Economic Effects of Immigration into the United Kingdom,” *Population and Development Review* 30, no. 4 (2004): 582-583.

including the *Financial Times* and *The Economist*, as well as scores of pressure groups representing asylum, immigrant, and human rights concerns, the Commission for Racial Equality and other quangos, and the Christian church's opinion. This created a new and positive establishment 'orthodoxy' in favour of immigration.⁹⁶ This was to be short-lived, however, as public opinion remained unconvinced, with the majority feeling that immigration is immoderate, out of control, and in need of further restriction. For example, opinion polls in Britain since 2003 showed that concern about immigration and asylum has risen to between third and first place among the most important current political issues reported by respondents, in sharp contrast to the comparatively inconsequential position that it occupied in most previous years. In a YouGov poll conducted in 2004, 82 per cent of respondents stated that immigration and asylum policies were "not tough enough", and even amongst ethnic minority respondents, 46 per cent agreed with this.⁹⁷ Opinion about the issues of immigration in Britain seems to be divided, even among the ethnic minorities. A significant percentage of ethnic minorities themselves seem to agree that immigration and its attendant problems need to be looked into. From a glance at the poll results from ethnic minority respondents, it could be speculated that a vast majority of these may be those who have their residency permit and may not have restrictions imposed on work and length of stay. In recent times, with the effects of the economic downturn being felt by many, there have been calls for a cap on immigration, which the Conservative-Liberal Democratic Coalition government under David Cameron introduced in 2010. The government announced a cap of 21,700 on the number of skilled workers from outside the European Economic Area allowed into the UK. The figure represented a reduction of 6,300 on the equivalent figure for 2009. It excluded employees transferred by companies from abroad - in the future they will be allowed to stay

⁹⁶ Coleman, "The Economic Effects of Immigration into the United Kingdom," 582-583.

⁹⁷ Coleman, "The Economic Effects of Immigration into the United Kingdom," 583.

for up to five years if their salary exceeds £40,000.⁹⁸ From the immigrants' point of view this means that many who entered the country illegally or are unable to meet the residency requirements are relegated to take up 'undesirable jobs', which pay much less and may push them over the brink of despondency and destitution. The burden of caring for these migrants then falls on other civil-society organisations, including the church.

Statistics show that there were 1,088,640 Black Africans living in England in 2011, out of which 573,931 lived in London; 5,118 lived in Scotland; and 387 in Northern Ireland.⁹⁹ The 2001 census counted 55,000 Ghanaians living in the UK, an increase of 72 per cent since the last count. Other sources such as MigHealth UK estimate there are about 96,900 Ghanaians in Britain.¹⁰⁰ This figure is close to the actual figure of 93,846 published by the Office of National Statistics from the 2011 census.¹⁰¹ Orozco estimated that there might be as many as 300,000, largely based on money transfers. From pre-colonial times up to the late 1960s, Ghana enjoyed relative economic prosperity and was the destination of many migrants from neighbouring West African countries.¹⁰² During the period under consideration, international movement from Ghana involved a relatively small number of people, most of whom were students and professionals. Most of these movements were to the United Kingdom and other English-speaking countries due to colonial links.¹⁰³ The initial emigration of Ghanaians started after 1965. From that period Ghana experienced an economic crisis of an

⁹⁸“UK government agrees on skilled migration cap” BBC News item published on 23 November 2010. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/uk-politics-11816979>, accessed on 18 March 2012.

⁹⁹Lavinia Mitton and Peter Aspinall, “Black Africans in the UK: Integration or Segregation”? (UPTAP: ESRC Research Findings, 2011), 1-5. accessed 18 March 2012. Updated figures from the "Ethnic Groups in London". *Census Update* (Office for National Statistics) 2011: page 1. accessed 20 May 2013.

¹⁰⁰ An estimate of Ghanaians living in the UK as published by MIGHEALTH, an organisation co-funded by DG SANCO, the Health and Consumer Protection Directorate-General of the European Commission. http://mighealth.net/uk/index.php/African_Migrants_in_the_UK#Ethiopia, accessed 20 May 2013.

¹⁰¹ Census figures published on the website of Office of National Statistics, 2011 census Country of birth England and Wales, accessed 20 May 2014.

¹⁰² Anarfi, J. K. “International Labour Migration in West Africa: A Case Study of the Ghanaian Migrants in Lagos, Nigeria,” *Regional Institute for Population Studies; University of Ghana*, 1982.

¹⁰³ Anarfi, J. K., K. Awusabo-Asare, et al. *Push and Pull Factors of International Migration*. 2000/E(10).

unprecedented magnitude.¹⁰⁴ This was manifested in a balance of payments deficit, growing unemployment and social malaise. The decline of the economy made Ghana unappealing to both foreigners and citizens. The percentage of foreigners in Ghana declined from 12.3 per cent in 1960 to 6.6 per cent in 1970. The migration was exacerbated by fading faith in Ghana's future due to bad administration by both the civilian and military regimes. Nonetheless, this most recent phase of the migration of Ghanaians is more importantly characterised by their 'diasporisation', which began in the middle of the 1980s. Van Hear categorizes Ghana as one of the ten countries caught up in advancing a 'new diaspora' in recent times.¹⁰⁵ According to the UK Home Office, Ghana was among the top ten sending countries to the UK in 1996, and in the decade 1990–2001 about 21,485 Ghanaians entered the UK.¹⁰⁶

2.1.3.1 Migration and the Ghanaian-led Churches

The above statistics of Black Africans and specifically Ghanaians in Britain are quite significant in the sense that among these migrants and their offspring are those who belong to Pentecostal churches and congregate on particular days during the week to worship. With all the challenges presented by legislation and public policy, there is the effort on the part of the immigrants to adapt and integrate themselves into British society and maintain their ties with their country of origin. The statistics also give some credence to the numbers that congregate in Black Majority Pentecostal churches around the country. There are some migrants who join these Ghanaian-led churches because of their strong faith convictions, for others it is mainly

¹⁰⁴ Anarfi et al, *Push and Pull Factors of International Migration*.

¹⁰⁵ Nicholas Van Hear, *New Diasporas: The Mass Exodus, Dispersal and Regrouping of Migrant Communities* (London : UCL Press Limited, 1998).

¹⁰⁶ Van Hear, *New Diasporas*.

because it is a gathering of their fellow countrymen and women with aim of maintaining a social network within the country. Another reason for joining these churches is because they are a place of refuge from the daily struggles of survival that are part of the immigrant lifestyle and thus the grounds for building social capital. Others may also find these churches to be the place where they are inspired to hold on to their Christian faith and to the personal dreams and aspirations associated with their migration. These may be just a few of the reasons why these migrants assemble in the Ghanaian-led churches, but more worthy of note is the fact that these churches meet the expectations of the people who come to them, maintaining their relevance to these communities of faith. In my view the more closely these churches are to meeting the needs of these migrants, the more they attract them. So there are those who belong to more than one church simply because of the factor of relevance. To illustrate the point above, meet Darkoa, a Ghanaian migrant who has lived in London since her arrival in the country in August 2004, initially as a student. She is originally a Methodist from Ghana, and is a member of one of the Ghanaian Methodist churches in London. She says she belongs to this church to preserve her family tradition, as many generations before her in the family had been Methodists. She is also a member of a Pentecostal church, one of the International Central Gospel Churches in London, which she believes meets her spiritual and emotional needs, stating for example that sermons preached are practical and relevant to her life as a migrant in Britain.¹⁰⁷

These reasons, along with others, help explain why these churches have become important for further investigation and analysis. It must be noted, however, that not all members of African-led churches are migrants; some may have been born in Britain and consider Britain their

¹⁰⁷ Ms Darkoa (not her real name), is an individual I met on my preliminary visit for preparation for my fieldwork to the International Central Gospel Church – Kings Temple, in Walthamstow, London. Date of visit: 01 April .2012.

country of origin. Some of these Ghanaian Pentecostal Christians from the second and third generations within migrant families may never have been to their parents' countries of origin. In my view, these churches are significant because of the migrants; and the migrants are also significant because of these churches. The uniqueness of these churches can only be ascertained by finding their position on the radar of global Pentecostalism. As a derivative of these churches' positioning within global Pentecostalism the British context of Pentecostalism can not be ignored as in many ways it also has influence on Pentecostal churches elsewhere.

2.2 Situating the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal church within the African-led churches and Global Pentecostalism.

Pentecostalism in Ghana was not an American phenomenon, but rather part of a global move of God carried by the presence of the Holy Spirit whenever human hearts were open and ready for a new spiritual experience. Global Pentecostalism has widely been traced to events at the run down Episcopal Methodist Church on Azusa Street in 1906, an event that has come to be known as a revival, led by William Seymour. William Seymour led twelve-hour church sessions each day for about three and half years. The main occurrence at this revival was the baptism of the Holy Spirit, which according to them was accompanied by the initial evidence of speaking in tongues. This outpouring is what they believed was the restoration of the gift of tongues for the 'speedy and effective preaching of the gospel to the nations'.¹⁰⁸ Charles F. Parham developed this new idea of linking tongues speaking to the baptism of the Spirit further from the radical evangelicals position. At the time the leaders

¹⁰⁸ Allan Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth: Pentecostalism and the Transformation of World Christianity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2013), 37-40.; Allan Anderson, "The Origins of Pentecostalism and Its Global Spread in the Early Twentieth Century," *Transformation* 22, no. 3 (2005): 175.

were persuaded that the ‘experience of Spirit baptism was a fire that would spread to other nations of the world’. One of these individuals who later became very instrumental in the history of Pentecostal mission was John G. Lake.¹⁰⁹ Building upon the belief that it was a revival that was meant to affect the world, Seymour launched a periodical that carried news and occurrences of the ‘move of God’ from the revival site, with the aim of spreading the fire. At the peak of its production and circulation the periodical, *The Apostolic Faith*, reached about 50,000 copies around the world in 1908.¹¹⁰ However it was another periodical named *The Sword of the Spirit* produced by Faith Tabernacle of Philadelphia in the United States headed by Pastor Clark. This was a splinter group from Alexander Dowie’s Zion City, which influenced certain individuals who in turn became pioneers of Pentecostal missions in Africa. Notable amongst them around this time was Apostle Peter Anim the founding member of the Apostolic Church, from which the Church of Pentecost, Ghana’s largest Pentecostal church evolved, and the present day Christ Apostolic Church in Ghana, is said to have been greatly influenced by the teachings of this periodical after reading it in 1917.¹¹¹ However the main influence in the beliefs and practices of Anim came from the Apostolic Church, Bradford after Anim and other affiliates from Nigeria seceded from the Faith Tabernacle in Philadelphia. This led to his association with James McKeown, a missionary from Bradford.¹¹² The spread of Pentecostalism around the world has been assisted by the involvement of local evangelists and pastors who through contextualisation have helped establish it as a tradition. As such it has not been established solely through the efforts of

¹⁰⁹ Anderson, “The Origins of Pentecostalism,” 175.

¹¹⁰ Anderson, “The Origins of Pentecostalism,” 179.

¹¹¹ Robert Wyllie, “Pioneers of Ghanaian Pentecostalism: Peter Anim and James McKeown,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 6, 2 (1974): 110-112.

¹¹² Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity*, 106-109.

western missionaries.¹¹³ These gallant men and women some of whom have been voiceless and mere ‘unsung Pentecostal labourers’ need to be recognised and given their place in history recognising their contributions.¹¹⁴

Supporting Anderson’s assertion that ‘experience of Spirit baptism from Azusa Street was a fire that would spread to other nations of the world’, within the first two years of the inception of the revival at Azusa Street, missionaries from the site had covered a whopping twenty-five nations which included nations such as Egypt, China, India, Japan, Liberia, Angola and South Africa.¹¹⁵ This substantial spread of missionary activity was by no means the ‘only connections’ to the spread of the fire.¹¹⁶ The history of the movement in Ghana begins a bit later with influences from sub-Saharan Africa, namely Wade Harris, and locals such as John Swatson, Samson Oppong and Grace Tani who had their own expression of Pentecostalism and are all considered a significant part of the emergence of the movement in Ghana.¹¹⁷ This meant that Pentecostalism in Ghana was not an American phenomenon, but rather part of a global move of God carried by the presence of the Holy Spirit wherever human hearts were open and ready for a new spiritual experience. There could have been Pentecostal revivals resulting in the establishment of Pentecostal churches in other parts of the world and even in Ghana before the events at Azusa Street in 1906. Anderson notes that there were a lot more Pentecostal centres such as Pyongyang in Korea, Pune in India, and Wakkerstroom in South Africa, among others that,

¹¹³Brian Stanley, “Twentieth Century World Christianity: A Perspective from the History of Missions,” in Donald M. Lewis, *Christianity Reborn*. (Grand Rapids: Wm B. Eerdmans, 2004), 52-83.

¹¹⁴Allan Anderson, *Spreading the Fires: The Missionary Nature of early Pentecostalism*. (London: SCM, 2007), 5-9.

¹¹⁵D. William Faupel, *The Everlasting Gospel: The Significance of Eschatology in the Development of Pentecostal Thought* (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1996), 213-222.

¹¹⁶Anderson, *To the Ends of the Earth*, pp. 37-40.

¹¹⁷Larbi, *Pentecostalism: The Eddies of Ghanaian Christianity*, pp. 32- 37.

Pyongyang, Korea, from which revival in 1907 Presbyterian minister Kim Ik Du and others spread out throughout the country with a revivalist healing message; Pune, India, from Pandita Ramabai's Mukti Mission, where a Pentecostal revival beginning in 1905 resulted in scores of young women forming evangelistic teams; Wakkerstroom, South Africa -where the first African Spirit churches in South Africa under Daniel Nkonyane and others were formed; Lagos, Nigeria, from where the first Aladura (healing) movement began in the 1918 influenza epidemic; Valparaiso, Chile, where the revival in the Methodist church under Willis Hoover, beginning in 1909, was the start of the Methodist Pentecostal Church, the largest Protestant church in Chile; Belem, Brazil, where Swedish missionaries Vingren and Berg began the largest Pentecostal denomination in the world; Oslo, Norway, where Methodist pastor Thomas Barratt began Pentecostalism in Europe in 1907; and Sunderland, England, where Anglican vicar Alexander Boddy led the commencement of Pentecostalism. These were some among many other centres. Pentecostalism has many varieties very different from the North American 'classical Pentecostal' kind.¹¹⁸

This serves to emphasise that Pentecostalism may not be a made-in-the USA product, suggesting that factors associated with the context of these movements outside of the USA, or the West in general, may have meant that they remained unknown to the global fraternity, unlike the Azusa Street events. It might be that the distortion of historical facts has been intentional on the part of some researchers who have sympathies towards the American version of events, running the risk of over-simplifying the history of the origins of the phenomenon.¹¹⁹ Considering the spread of the movement in Ghana, for instance, there were local factors and actors that aided this process of the emergence, spread and establishment of Pentecostalism. Many churches with similar beliefs and practices in Africa and Ghana at the time were considered 'sumsum sore' and it is therefore possible these churches were not looked into because they were new within their contexts.

Over the years, Pentecostalism has made great headway in the Pacific Rim, China, Latin America, Eastern Europe (particularly Romania) and Ukraine, which has the biggest

¹¹⁸ Anderson, "The Origins of Pentecostalism," 182.

¹¹⁹ Anderson, "The Origins of Pentecostalism," 181.

Pentecostal church in Europe.¹²⁰ Significant to the recent Ukraine story is that a Nigerian migrant, who moved to the Eastern block for the purpose of education, leads this largest congregation. This in itself expresses the shared identity of the Pentecostal movement; the fact that a Nigerian Pentecostal can set up a Pentecostal church and attract predominantly the indigenes of the country. However this maybe an isolated success story when compared to many African-led churches that solely attract Africans. Pentecostal believers everywhere have a sense that they belong to an international community, although the local church may be known or unknown to them. It is an international community because there are shared values and tenets of faith as well as ethos. For instance, Zimbabwean Pentecostals have developed their own understanding of the prosperity message which helps them act as agents of rapid social change. The same can be said of the Ghanaian context, where born-again believers seek to become 'autonomous through making a complete break with tradition by means of exorcism' as a means of accessing good fortune. Although it is on the same platform of tradition embedded in the indigenous religions that the churches have succeeded to reach out to their communities.¹²¹ In spite of the universal acceptance of the local Pentecostal churches to Pentecostal believers elsewhere, there are distinctive nuances and variations resulting from the locality of the church. The reason for this distinct identity is the influence of culture and indigenous cosmology. And even within the same locality or region, differences can be identified. At the regional level, Nigerian Pentecostal beliefs and practices, irrespective of their influence on Pentecostal formation and thought in the Ghanaian context through their video and media outlet, can never be the same as the beliefs and praxis within the Ghanaian

¹²⁰J. K. Asamoah-Gyadu, "Unwanted Sectarians': Spirit, Migration and Mission in an African-Led Mega-Size Church in Eastern Europe," *Evangelical Review of Theology* 34, no. 1 (2010): 72.

¹²¹David Maxwell, "Editorial," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, no. 3 (1998): 255-257.

context.¹²² Even within the same context there are differences, as in the case of Ghanaian Pentecostals holding differing views on certain practices, with a section of them holding onto practices which can be clearly identified as having been influenced by the Akan indigenous cosmology.¹²³ It is nonetheless important to acknowledge that in spite of the distinct identity that these Pentecostals bear within their context, they are to a large extent by praxis connected to the wider community of Pentecostals around the globe.

2.3 Pentecostalism, Ghanaian Indigenous Cosmologies and Communities

In this section we will explore the indigenous cosmology that provided the impetus for the emergence and spread of Pentecostalism in Ghana. This examination of the Ghanaian context will form the basis for understanding why the Ghanaian-led. The theoretical framework for this research suggests that entities that have transnational statuses in a land of settlement maintain ties with their homelands and are affected by occurrences there and vice versa. The Ghanaian-led churches in Britain have been and are influenced by the indigenous cosmology of the country of origins of its leadership and the majority of its membership.

2.3.1 Pentecostalism and Ghanaian Indigenous Cosmologies

For the purposes of generalisation in examining Ghanaian indigenous communities and cosmologies it is fitting that the largest indigenous community be chosen for this purpose. The Akan form the largest ethnic group in Ghana. This group is made up of the Akyem,

¹²² Maxwell, "Delivered from the Spirit of Poverty?": Pentecostalism, Prosperity and Modernity in Zimbabwe," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, 3 (1998): 350-373.

¹²³ Bernard Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures: African Religious Worldviews within neo-Pentecostal Churches in Ghana," (MTh Diss.,: University of Edinburgh, 2011), 22-49.

Asante, Akwamu, Akuapem, Brong, Assin, Denkyira, and Wasp, all of whom speak Twi as their language. It must be highlighted that there are differences in the accent of the Twi language spoken in these different areas. The centre of the religious ideas of the Akan can be applied to the various ethnic groups within Ghana and generally to the traditional African perception of reality as an integral whole.¹²⁴ The Akan worldview is that influential and powerful supernatural forces that have a jurisdiction that covers the earth realm inhabit the world and the spirit realm and can therefore affect their daily lives either for evil or for good. This interaction between the spirits of the spirit realm and the humans of the earthly realm gives room for the operation of mediums such as priests and priestesses known by the Akan as *akomfo* of the shrines; and of traditional healers also known as *adinsifo*. These play a mediatory role between the humans and the spirits. The *akomfo* and *adinsifo* are individuals appointed by the gods and approved by the leadership of the communities.¹²⁵ They are believed to be endowed with special gifts, spiritual authority and powers, and have favour with the gods to represent individual members of the community and also the community as a corporate body, on varying issues that are of importance to everyday life from sanitation and health to governance and justice.¹²⁶ The area of speciality and focus of the *Odinsifo* is in diagnosing and providing cures through herbal prescriptions to the sick. The worldview of the Akan postulates that certain individuals of a particular standing before the gods and people of the communities can invoke the spirit forces and act as their spokespersons either for the good or bad of the communities they live in. It is because of this that the human intermediaries, the *Okomfo* and the *Adinsifo* offer sacrifices to these spirit forces to attract their blessing and also to inoculate members of the communities against such evil influences of other spirit forces

¹²⁴ Larbi, *Pentecostalism*, p. 88.

¹²⁵ J. D. K. Ekem. *Priesthood in Context: As study of Akan Traditional Priesthood in dialogical relation to the priest-Christology of the epistle to the Hebrew and its implications for a relevant functional priesthood in selected churches among the Akan of Ghana*. (Hamburg: Verlag an der Lottbek, 1994), 38.

¹²⁶ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 39.

that may seek to harm them. On the one hand this makes these intermediaries essential to the community of adherents, giving these individuals serving as intermediaries reverence and honour for their roles. This indigenous worldview also helps explain how pastors and leaders of the Pentecostal churches in Ghana have become very important personalities and are very influential within their communities. This show of reverence and honour to the pastors and leaders occurs because they are viewed with the same basic understanding as the *okomfo* or *odinsifo* in the community. Any individual looking at the phenomenon without a thorough understanding will draw the same conclusions as Gifford who referred to these leaders in Ghana as ‘gospel superstars’.¹²⁷ The continuity or the discontinuity of the place and role of the Pentecostal pastors or leaders in the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Ghana will be critically examined in chapter 4. On the other hand, this makes the worldview of the Akan dualistic, that is ‘interpenetrating and inseparable, yet with distinguishable parts.’¹²⁸ The Akan believe in the existence of two worlds that are in constant interaction with one another and occurrences in each affect the other and yet are distinct from each other.¹²⁹ The belief in a dualistic world gives rise to a plethora of performative rituals either to court favour from spirit forces for productive means or to inflict pain on one’s enemies. The rituals are performed to ward off evil spirit forces that inflict evil and atrocities. The rituals are also meant to position an individual rightly in eyes of the spirit forces to receive good fortune. And they use charms and amulets provided by these *akomfo* and *adinsifo* to protect themselves from enemy forces, that they believe possess powers to create imbalances in an individual’s life. There is significant evidence to show that Ghanaian Pentecostal churches still hold on to some ‘ritualistic’ practices that can be traced to the influence of the indigenous religious

¹²⁷ Gifford, *Ghana’s New Christianity*, p. 137.

¹²⁸ Cyril C. Okorochoa, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion in Africa: The Case of the Igbo of Nigeria*. (Aldershot: Avebury, 1987), 52.

¹²⁹ Appiah, “*Christianity in Indigenous Cultures*,” 12.

cosmologies.¹³⁰In relation to the theoretical framework of this research, the full extent of ‘ritualistic’ practices within the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain will be examined in Chapter 4 of this thesis. The findings should enable one to argue the extent to which the churches in Britain have moved away from the influences of the churches in the homeland.

In spite of the dualistic worldview held by the Akan, and how their relationships with these worlds are expressed, the Akan believe in one Supreme Being who is *Onyankopɔn* but have gods known as the *abosom* and the ancestors, referred to as the *mpanyinfo*, through whom they send their petitions, with of course the *akomfo* and *adinsifi* being the mediums. This is contrary to the observations of the early missionaries, which suggested that the Akans believed in many gods.¹³¹However, Idowu describes the concept of God among the African people as a ‘diffused monotheism’ “where we have a monotheism in which there exist other powers which derive from Deity, a being and authority that they can be treated, for practical purposes, almost as ends in themselves”.¹³² The indigenous cosmology of the Akan often makes it very difficult to make a division between the sacred and the secular. They make the effort on a daily basis to maintain constant interaction with the spirit forces, as a result of the belief that every single aspect of their lives is affected by the influences of spirit forces that are much more powerful than humans. This is an occurrence very similar to the dependence on the Spirit with Pentecostalism discussed in section 2.2.2.2. In that section we see how in the beginnings of the Pentecostal movement missionaries could go to distant lands without any prior preparation such as learning the language of the locals or having enough financial support, believing that the Spirit will equip them and somehow make them successful. I argue

¹³⁰ Appiah, “Christianity in Indigenous Cultures,” 14.

¹³¹ Edward Geoffrey Parrinder, *West African Religion: Illustrated from the Beliefs and Practices of the Yoruba, Ewe, Akan and Kindred Peoples* (London: Epworth Press, 1949), 12.

¹³² E. B. Idowu, *Olodumare: God in Yoruba Belief* (London: Longmans, 1962), 202-203.

that this understanding of dependency on the Spirit that formed the basis of spreading the fire as a way of life of the early missionaries fits into the Ghanaian indigenous context and in many ways assisted in its acceptance and spread. This also goes to confirm the assertion by Anderson that Pentecostalism was inherently flexible, responding creatively to different religio-cultural contexts.¹³³ Most Ghanaian Pentecostals believe in a world inhabited by strong spirit forces that have an influence on the daily lives of individuals. This is because these individuals are similar to those adherents of the indigenous religions who make contact with the spirit realm on a daily basis through prayer and other belief practices that seem to enable them to be in contact with the Holy Spirit, such as the use of tokens in ‘prophetic ministration’ including the olive oil which is discussed in detail in Chapter 4. Therefore it is argued that the similarities in the worldviews provide the platform for the ease with which new Pentecostal believers can integrate into the Pentecostal Community of believers.

2.3.2 Pentecostalism and Ghanaian Indigenous Communities

To fully understand Ghanaian indigenous cosmologies as a context for the emergence and acceptance of Pentecostalism in Ghana and also for the transnational status of Ghanaian-led churches in Britain, the indigenous communities have to be explored. There are complex strands and levels of relationships that exist within the communities between people and their dependence on one another to bring about cosmic harmony. Due to the dualistic worldview the Akan hold, life is in disarray if the triangular relationship with one another in the community and the spirit forces is broken. The Akan see themselves first and foremost as an integral part of a community before giving any thought to his or her individuality within the

¹³³ Anderson, “The Origins of Pentecostalism and Its Global Spread in the Early Twentieth Century,” 12.

community. This view is expressed in indigenous proverbs such as '*yɛn fa yɛnsa benkum nkyire yɛn agyanom anaafɔ*'. Translated, this means 'we do not give directions to our father's house by using a finger on the left hand ', meaning 'we do not show disrespect to our kinsmen'. This sense of community is essential to the existence of Ghanaian traditional societies because it defines its shared humanity on the basis of communality.¹³⁴ The shared humanity and communality means that the individual participates in the beliefs, rituals and ceremonies that undergird the stability of that community. And for that matter a person who detaches himself or herself from his kinsmen is considered to have severed himself from his roots.¹³⁵

In order to maintain the cycle of harmony in the indigenous community it is essential to maintain a peaceful co-existence with fellow members of one's community and with the gods. The balance of this harmony is meant to be undisturbed and maintained to ensure that the community continues to receive the vital assistance of the spirit forces they believe influence their everyday lives. Pentecostal churches in Ghana have managed to maintain these indigenous values. The sense of community and communality in Pentecostal churches in Ghana can be identified in how the church celebrates the various rites of passage such as birth through outdoor ceremonies, marriage and death. Besides these rites of passages mentioned earlier some of the churches, have other activities such beauty contests, Ghanaian fashion shows, Chastity celebration for the youth as part of their yearly programme. That same sense of community is brought into the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain, to the effect that these churches consider those migrants who come to Britain from the homeland their kith and kin and thus have strategies in place to assist them to settle into British society. What this means is that, those who join irrespective of the local areas they come from in

¹³⁴ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 14.

¹³⁵ John S. Mbiti, *African Religions & Philosophy* (London: Heinemann, 1969), 2.

Ghana, are considered family in the churches. The strategies adopted by these churches are examined critically in Chapter 3. For any meaningful examination of the integration strategies of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain to be done, their histories need to be looked into as this will situate the whole research in context.

2.4 Histories and Organisation of Ghanaian-led Churches in Britain

2.4.1 Background of the International Central Gospel Church

The International Central Gospel Church (ICGC), Ghana is a Pentecostal-Charismatic Church, which was established by Mensa Otabil. Otabil is the General Overseer and founder of the International Central Gospel Church, Founder and Chancellor of Ghana's premier private university, The Central University College; the Chief Executive Officer and Consultant of Otabil and Associates, an executive and leadership growth consultancy. He also serves on several Boards and Trusts within Ghana and in other parts of the world.¹³⁶ The church had its first service on the 26th February 1984, in Accra. It was established out of a fellowship known as the Kanda Fellowship, so named after the suburb of Accra known as Kanda where it was first based. The first meeting of the church was held in a small classroom and had a membership of about twenty people. Within two years, from February 1984 to April 1986, those in regular Sunday attendance had increased to about one hundred and eighty. Premises the church rented to hold its churches services have included classrooms, a private residence, a public hall, a science laboratory, a mechanical workshop and a cinema theatre. Around this same period in 1986, the church rented the Baden Powell Memorial Hall where they stayed for about ten years. The church saw an astronomical growth in its

¹³⁶ Information obtained from www.centralgospel.com, accessed on 06 August 2014.

membership during this ten-year period with an adult membership of about 4,000 in regular attendance each Sunday.¹³⁷ At this time most of the members of the church were students from secondary schools and the universities. This was so for a couple of reasons which included the fact that sermons preached were recorded onto cassette tapes and sold to members of the church who were encouraged to pass them on to their friends. Some claimed the leader; Mensa Otabil spoke with a refined accent as someone with an exposure to the western world; and the intellectual appeal of the sermons made it easy for these students to identify with them¹³⁸. The criticisms in his sermons of the inactivity and irrelevance to contemporary spiritual and social trends of the older main line churches and older Pentecostal churches that most of these young people were born into and raised in meant that these students had to leave their churches and join the ICGC. Otabil has since stated in an interview on a popular local radio station, that he regrets his criticism of the older main line and Pentecostal churches¹³⁹.

This increase in membership of the church gave rise to what they described then as aggressive missionary church planting activities, with local assemblies established in almost all the major towns and cities of Ghana. Several other churches were also planted in cities in Europe and the United States. The first congregation, which was established in February 1984, now designated as the Christ Temple assembly, has directly planted about forty other churches out of the original congregation in the Accra - Tema metropolis of Ghana. Attendance at Sunday church services at Christ Temple exceeds 10,000. As part of its vision and social responsibilities, the church established a ministerial institute in 1998, to train a new

¹³⁷ Culled from the History page of the ICGC website. www.centralgospel.com, accessed on 6 August 2014.

¹³⁸ A discussion with one of the founding members of the ICGC in Accra who now serve as an assistant Pastor in one of the branch churches in the United States.

¹³⁹ Mensa Otabil speaking on Joy 99.7FM hosted by Komla Dumor on the Super Morning Show sometime in 2003.

generation of leaders to carry out its vision. This has since been developed into a university college. Again in 1988, the church set up Central Aid, an educational scholarship scheme to finance the education of selected needy students in pre-tertiary educational institutions¹⁴⁰.

2.4.1.1 History of the International Central Gospel Church, East London

This church started as a branch of the ICGC in Ghana on the 25th August 2001. It was registered as the Dreamgate Centre with the Charity Commission in England and Wales.¹⁴¹ The reason why it chose the name Dreamgate Centre was because the other branch of the church situated in South London had registered the name ICGC with the Charity Commission and therefore could not be registered as such. It was also not possible to operate under the same charity as the South London branch because of some internal wrangling and misunderstanding between the two pastors leading the churches. Analysis at the end of this chapter will show that one of the problems these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches have is in-fighting among leaders at different levels of the churches structure. The church started in the front room of the residence of a couple, Mr and Mrs Aheto, in Leytonstone. The pastor, Rev Frank Opoku Amoako, is said to have used the ironing board of the couple as a pulpit from which he preached the first sermon to its 12-member congregation.¹⁴² Amoako was an ICGC pastor from the Kumasi branch of the church in Ghana. He was sent by the organisation's general overseer to start this branch of the church in Britain. The first 12 members with whom Rev Amoako began the church were all members of the ministry in

¹⁴⁰ Information was obtained from www.centralgospel.com, accessed on 06 August 2014.

¹⁴¹ Pastor Andy's, narration of the history of ICGC, London. Pastor Andy was a founding member of the church and had been ordained a Pastor in the church 2014.

¹⁴² A narration of the history of ICGC, London by TT, one of the founding members of the church. 30 July 2012.

Ghana prior to their migration to Britain. They were however in other churches prior to the commencement of the branch.¹⁴³

Within a month of the church starting the number in attendance were approaching 20 and they therefore had to move into a bigger facility to accommodate the increase. The church moved to one of the rooms of the Leytonstone Library, where in barely two months the church membership again increased to about sixty. As a result of this growth, in November 2012 the church relocated to the Warwick School for Boys in Walthamstow. The reason for the growth was due to the fact that there were members of the church in London living in the East and North of London who left their churches to join their ‘mother church’. Another factor may have been the fact that the pastor was a long serving pastor with ICGC in Ghana and also well known by most of the people, who felt secure to be led by him. Also at the time ICGC Ghana had been in existence for close to 16 years as a popular Pentecostal church in Ghana with a leader who most people in Ghana admired and saw as a breath of fresh air to others before him. Consequently by March 2002 the membership of the church had doubled to about 120. The reason for this growth in the membership of the church in particular was because these people had once been members of this church in Ghana before travelling to live in Britain. As a result these members saw it as a ‘home coming’ experience for them to be part of the new branch in London.¹⁴⁴ A detailed analysis of the reasons for the growth is made at the end of this chapter. In 2003, due to some internal administrative difficulties that resulted in the pastor of the church falling out with some of the church elders, and coupled with the pastor’s difficulty in rectifying his immigration status to enable him to engage in ministry as a minister of religion, he had to move back to Ghana. He never returned to his post in Britain, but later

¹⁴³ The History of The church as narrated by one of the founding members of the church. He is now a lay minister in the church and a member of the Vision Team, the Management and Administrative Committee of the church.

¹⁴⁴ The History of ICGC, London as narrated by Pastor Edwin in an interview on 13 January 2013.

on resigned from the ICGC and moved to the United States to begin his own ministry there. On the departure of Rev Opoku Amoako, two ministers took over the pastoral duties of the church as caretaker pastors between 2003 and 2005 until the General Secretary, Rev Edwin Obeng Donkor, was sent in from Ghana to take over the church, with the strategy to start more branches of the ICGC in Britain. On his arrival, due to the previous challenges the Dreamgate Trust was closed down as a charity and its assets transferred to a new charity, Central Trust and the alias King's Temple was adopted to reflect his own vision and ideals for the ministry.¹⁴⁵

2.4.1.2 Organisation and Vision of the International Central Gospel Church, East London

The church has been predominantly a Ghanaian congregation with a handful of Zimbabweans who are also married to Ghanaians. The church is a branch of the ICGC in Ghana and therefore adopts its vision and ministry philosophy. The Mission Statement of the ICGC is: 'Raising leaders, shaping vision and influencing society through Christ'. They state that their purpose and desire is to constantly challenge the world through their life and conduct, and to live closer to God's ideal.¹⁴⁶ As with the biblical narrative of the believer in Christ being the salt of the earth, they are committed to the preservation of Godliness; and as light of the world they believe they must transform society through the challenge of a Christ-centred life. They also have as their philosophy three main emphases: practical Christianity human dignity excellence. By practical Christianity, they claim that they believe Christianity is not a myth.

¹⁴⁵ Pastor Edwin giving the rationale behind the registration of a new charity fit for purpose and new direction that was intended for the church. An interview conducted on 13 January 2013.

¹⁴⁶ Information on the philosophy of ICGC, obtained from www.centralgospel.com/aboutus, accessed on 8 August 2014.

God's word preached must bring truths that can produce results when applied to one's life. As a result they encourage their pastors to preach sermons that are easily applicable by the audience. Regarding human dignity, they believe every human being is created in the image and likeness of God and must be treated with respect and honour. As part of the philosophy they uphold the principle of excellence that everything the Christian or the human being will do must be done with excellence.¹⁴⁷

One outstanding feature of the church is their primary commitment to prepare the black person to be a channel of blessing to the world.¹⁴⁸ International Central Gospel Church is committed to obedience to the great commission as set out by our Lord Jesus Christ and recorded in Matthew 28:18-20. In this biblical narrative Jesus urges his followers to preach the gospel to all peoples everywhere. They explain that the commitment to prepare the black person to be a channel of blessing to the world does not restrict the scope of the ministry open to the church to make the gospel of the Kingdom of God known to all people irrespective of race, colour, sex or age. They seem to align this part of their vision and reinforce it with a biblical example of the Apostle Paul whose ministry was primarily to the Gentiles. They believe that they have a special responsibility to the Black peoples of the world who in recent human history have been subjected to various de-humanizing forms of oppression through slavery, colonialism and apartheid. They believe that the occurrence of slavery, colonialism and apartheid for instance has made most black people develop a feeling of inferiority to other peoples of the earth and in the process has locked up their potential to be a blessing to humanity. This they claim has resulted in most black people becoming receivers, beggars and followers. This commitment they believe will be executed through the messages the sermons

¹⁴⁷ *The Vision*, 1- 24.

The Vision is a document detailing the vision of the ICGC, Ghana. Also further information on the ICGC philosophy of ministry can be found at www.centralgospel.com/?root=about&t=64, accessed on 8 August 2012.

¹⁴⁸ *The Vision*, 1- 3.

carry and also in demonstrating the ideals through self-funded facilities and projects to prove that black people are capable of responding to their own needs without hand outs from the western world.¹⁴⁹ It is not clear what the actual limitations of their vision and philosophy leave them in the globalisation discourse, however it is clear that the church has a clearly defined focus of making people of black descent their target audience for their ministry. Ultimately, it is the conviction of the ICGC that the liberating truth of the gospel when properly contextualised to the immediate needs of black people would produce a free person who is equipped to give, lend and lead through serving. One important thing to take note of is the fact that, the London branch of the church derives its vision from the vision of its head church in Ghana. The vision of the church is written into a booklet that spells out the details.¹⁵⁰

2.4.2 History of Royalhouse Chapel International

Rev. Sam Korankye Ankrah founded Royalhouse Chapel International, after he claims to have had an encounter with the Lord Jesus Christ on 19 June 1991. The ministry began with 30 adults in November 1992 and has since gained a membership of over 5,000 at the headquarters alone.¹⁵¹ The reason for the church's exponential growth in membership was due to the use of the multi-media to get the message of the church out to the public.¹⁵² Churches which featured testimonies of people who claim to have been healed, or life having turned

¹⁴⁹ Information obtained from the VT of the Living Word broadcast aired on KICC on Wednesdays 5:00pm.

¹⁵⁰ *The Vision: Making Plain God's Purpose for the International Central Gospel Church* (Altar International: 1995), 1- 24.

¹⁵¹ Ankrah. S K, *The Rising of the Sun: Shining from Obscurity*, First ed. (Accra: Royalhouse Chapel International, 2010). 114.

¹⁵² The Royalhouse Chapel, broadcast on Television and Radio in Ghana and also does a live streaming of their weekly services at www.royalhousechapel.org/ahenfietv.

around as a result of them coming to the church was featured live on radio on Sundays.¹⁵³ It also states it has one hundred Local Assemblies (branches) and seventeen International Missions eight in the United Kingdom and nine in the United States¹⁵⁴. It has 26 different Ministries (Groups) as well as all the other distinct organs incorporated under the umbrella name, Ahenfie.¹⁵⁵

2.4.2.1 History of the Royalhouse Chapel International, London

In 1998, prior to the commencement of the church in Britain, various consultations and discussions were held to ascertain the possibilities for establishing the church and developing the appropriate strategy to execute the plan. The implementation of the decision to start a church in Britain was undertaken in 1999, when Rev Sam Korankye-Ankrah, the General Overseer accompanied by Rev Derek Amanor, a senior Associate minister of the church in Ghana travelled to the United Kingdom and started a prayer fellowship on Tuesdays at 7:00pm in a couple's home.¹⁵⁶ Part of the strategy of the church was to start a few more prayer fellowships around the city of London and its precincts. Therefore in May 2000 the fellowships were converted to branches of the Royalhouse Chapel International and were named Royalhouse Chapel North London Mission (the fellowship at Bounds Green) and Royalhouse Chapel South London Mission (the fellowship in Streatham Common).¹⁵⁷

Rev Benneh was initially appointed Pastor of the church after being sent from Ghana as a caretaker pastor. After a brief appointment with the church he was transferred to the

¹⁵³ Information obtained from the churches website, www.royalhousechapel.org, accessed 21 August 2014.

¹⁵⁴ The history of Royalhouse Chapel http://www.royalhousechapel.org/Who_We_Are/Our_History.aspx, accessed on 20 May 2014.

¹⁵⁵ Appiah, "Christianity and Indigenous Cultures," 29-30.

¹⁵⁶ A Telephone Interview with Pastor Charles Benneh about the History of the RCI, conducted on 6 July 2012.

¹⁵⁷ A telephone interview with Rev Dalkeith Amanor, conducted on the 9 July 2012.

Connecticut Mission, USA, as a temporary Resident Missionary. He returned from the Connecticut Mission after a year in 2005, to again take over as head pastor of the South London Mission. In May 2011, Rev Benneh was once again transferred after squabbles in the church, to start the Royalhouse International Missions Centre in Croydon, with some members from the South London Mission.¹⁵⁸ These details of the changes and swapping of leadership for the church, indicates the fluidity and instability of the churches. Analysis of this is provided in section 2.5.

2.4.2.2 Organisation and Vision of Royalhouse Chapel International

The Royalhouse Chapel International, has ‘Touching our generation with the power of God’ as its mission. The mission statement they claim was derived from a ‘supernatural encounter’ of the Rev Charles Benneh in 1991 whilst an immigrant in the Netherlands. They claim that during the encounter, God told him three things, which were to:

1. Bring people into the House of God through worship, praise and prayer.
2. Preach messages of hope that are relevant to the needs of the people.
3. Bring comfort to the people of God and providing a place in an atmosphere of love, caring, sharing and fellowship for them.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁸ Information was obtained from the website of the Royalhouse Chapel International, London. www.royalhouse.org.uk, accessed on 12 July 2014.

¹⁵⁹ Information obtained from the website of the Royalhouse Chapel, UK website www.royalhousechapel.org.uk which links up the history and vision of the church to the parent church in Ghana, accessed 30 August 2014.

As a result of this encounter the Apostle General, as he is referred to, developed a vision for the ministry based on the instructions he claims to have been given during the supernatural encounter. The mission statement can be expounded as follows:

- A. Bringing people into the House of God through Worship, Praise and Prayer.
- B. Preaching Messages of Hope that are Relevant to the Needs of the People. In the preaching of the message of hope there are three things implied;
 - i. Full demonstration of miracle working power of God on the basis of God's word.
 - ii. Raising people to impact their world and to leaving a memoriam of their presence on earth for posterity.
 - iii. Growing in the ways of God through holiness sharing one's faith, and showing commitment to church activities.
- C. Bringing comfort to the people of God and providing a place with an atmosphere of love and caring for one another. This point is also expressed in three areas, namely care, education and small groups

Care: They believe they must take care of the aged, the needy, the vulnerable and the like in society.

Education: They intend to promote education through offering scholarships, free extra tuition, discipleship and leadership training.¹⁶⁰

¹⁶⁰ Pastor Derek, narrating the history and vision of the Royalhouse Chapel in an interview conducted on 12 July 2012 with reference from Rev Dalkeith Amanor.

Small Groups: They believe that every worshipper must actively participate in a ministry group within the church to be wholly integrated in the vision of RCI and through that enhance their spiritual and social development.

The effect of this vision on migrants' experience is that it gives them a collective sense of hope. Once the church starts working towards this vision there is a diminishing of the sense of hopelessness where individual struggling migrants suddenly believe they can achieve something more significant with their lives. For some, although they are predominantly Ghanaian, it gives them an outlet for engagement with the wider community.

From the broader vision of 'touching our generation with the power of God', The Royalhouse Chapel has a more operational vision that was developed from the broader vision called Vision 2018.¹⁶¹ Their quest is to 'touch'; and by this they mean continuing and aspiring to build Royalhouse Chapel into a ministry where those experiencing the pain of rejection, non-achievements and hurt, over the years can find solutions to transform their lives. They expect that people who come through their doors, irrespective of their social status, position and significance will find a sense of belonging, purpose and vision to pursue with their lives. As part of the strategy to touch their generation they intend to build a multimedia platform including internet presence, TV ministry and audio-visual and reading resources to bring the church experience and the power of God to people in a life-changing way.¹⁶²

Their goal is also partly to raise a mega church of over five thousand people touched by the power of God and making significant impact in their world. It is their expectation that more than fifty per cent of the expected five thousand church family will be fully active members

¹⁶¹ The Vision 2018 was not available for viewing at the time of the interview but its content was revealed in my interview with a Pastor of the Church, Mandy Amanor who is also the wife of one of the pastors. Interviewed on 9 September 2012.

¹⁶² Pastor Charles Benneh, narrating the vision and direction of the church in a discussion on 20 October 2012.

pursuing the Royalhouse vision.¹⁶³ It has to be said that this vision statement calls for questions into the feasibility of building such a large church considering the number of Ghanaians who live in London, and this is also applicable to other African-led churches that make ambitious vision statements for their churches. An analysis of the vision of the churches is discussed at the end of the chapter. Aside from the intention of opening the mega church their plan is to establish Community Branch Fellowships (House Group Ministry) in every suburb and municipality of London where their members reside, for the purpose of extending the Gospel of Jesus. It is the vision of the leadership to grow potential Community Branch Fellowships into city churches which will become self-reliant and in turn pursue the vision of growing more Community Branch Fellowships which shall also mature into churches until the knowledge of Jesus Christ covers the city of London and beyond.¹⁶⁴

It is the vision of the church to engage the communities into which the Lord sends them by using the resources available to them to enhance the lives of the members of those communities and in that way they make Royalhouse Chapel relevant to the communities. To achieve this they aspire to build a modern 2000 capacity multi-function ministry building with enough function rooms for offices, children, teens and youth church services, prayer and counselling rooms, a Foundation School block, internet café, library, restaurants, performing arts rooms, studios, gym, barber and beauty shop, day nursery and the like.¹⁶⁵ It has to be said that the above plans remain an aspiration, as there are no signs of building the structures itemised above. However it gives you an insight into the mind-set of these churches that in

¹⁶³ Vision of the Royalhouse Chapel London can be found at www.royalhouse.org.uk/vision, accessed on 14. July 2013. The Apostle General Sam Korankye Ankrah also spoke this about at a Sunday night Anointing Service in their premises on 15 July 2012.

¹⁶⁴ Vision of the Royalhouse Chapel London can be found at www.royalhouse.org.uk/vision accessed on 16 July 2014.

¹⁶⁵ Vision of the Royalhouse Chapel London can be found at www.royalhouse.org.uk/vision accessed on 17 July 2014.

spite of being a minority and somehow classified as marginalised they try to prove they are able to positively affect not only the migrants who come to the church but society at large. They like to believe that they are able to replicate the success that they believe God has given them at their head branch in Ghana, which is very much involved with the communities where they are located.

2.4.3 History of the Freedom Centre International, London

Freedom Centre International (FCI), formerly South London Temple (SLT), was birthed in 1997 out of Universal Prayer Group (UPG) Ministries. Samson Kwaku Boafo, who came to Britain as a law student, founded the UPG Ministries in the 1960s. He left in the 1970s to practice law in Ghana and upon his departure, the church collapsed. However he returned in 1986 to seek political asylum from persecution by the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) government, the military junta in Ghana. He brought back together the scattered members of the church and re-started the UPG with a few remnants of the ministry who were at this time worshipping in other churches. With these people he began Sunday services at a location at Chalk Farm. By 1990, the membership of the church had grown and therefore had to move to Edmonton in North London where the church assumed the name Edmonton Temple. Around this time, with talk of Ghana returning to constitutional rule, Samson Kwaku Boafo moved back to Ghana as one of the founding members of the largest opposition party in Ghana to contest the elections in 1992.¹⁶⁶ Subsequently, the party won the election in 2000

¹⁶⁶ Pastor Nsokie's narration of the events leading up the beginning of the FCI, in an interview on 20 August 2013.

and he became a cabinet minister, until they were voted out of power in 2008. However he still remains an MP.¹⁶⁷

Later in the church's development, a branch of the church was established in Birmingham and called the Birmingham City Temple. In line with the church's aim to move to other regions and locations across Britain, a decision was made in 1997 to start a branch of the church in South London to make it more convenient for commuters from South London to the church in Edmonton in North London. Shadrach Ofosuware was then asked to take over as pastor of the church. The branch in South London assumed the name South London Temple and was later changed to Freedom Centre International when the church moved the majority of its members to its present place in Welling in Kent. It must be highlighted that all churches that were established out of the UPG Ministries are autonomous and independent. Thus FCI is independent from any other branch of the churches in its operations and administration. Apart from its history there is nothing else to show the link to the UPG Ministries.

The first meeting place of South London Temple was at the Euro Business Centre in Brixton with a membership of about 25 people. Under the leadership of Pastor Shadrach Ofosuware normally referred to as Pastor Shadrach, within four months South London Temple moved location to Peckham where its membership grew to over 500 within five years. To accommodate the expansion of the church, the church relocated out of the South London area to Welling in Kent, and was renamed Freedom Centre International in 2009.¹⁶⁸ The church went further to establish branches in various areas around Britain and was able to launch the first FCI assembly in Luton. Other branches have since been established by the initiative of

¹⁶⁷ History of FCI as narrated by Pastor Shadrach Ofosuware the senior pastor of the FCI at the premises of the church in Welling. The interview was conducted on 18 August 2012.

¹⁶⁸ Detailed historical development of the FCI narrated by Pastor Nsokie on 20 August 2013.

FCI London in Luton, Telford (England), Edinburgh (Scotland) Dallas (USA) and Accra (Ghana).¹⁶⁹

2.4.3.1 Organisation and Vision of Freedom Centre International

FCI's name reflects the pastor's passion for the liberty of God's people, to see people set free from demonic oppression and to pursue their God-given purpose in life. Also Pastor Shadrach's vision is that the downtrodden in society would be lifted and given room to express their God-given talent and abilities.¹⁷⁰ His desire as he notes is to see overcomers raised and God's people prosper. The church claims that its aims in ministry are two-fold: first, to provide support to help create social stability within the local communities in which their churches are based and within the whole of British society; and secondly to positively affect other communities around the world where they establish churches. By social stability they mean helping individuals to recognise diversity within British society and creating equal opportunities for all, especially those of ethnic minority.¹⁷¹

They believe in practical Christian living and by that they mean doing the will of God in reaching out to the communities and the nation at large. They state that their desire and endeavour is to make 'disciplined disciples' of Jesus Christ where their lifestyles exemplify Christ in all areas of thought, conversation and conduct. Their desire is that members would grow in Christ, and in the grace of God and in the understanding of the Holy Scriptures. They

¹⁶⁹ Information was obtained through the website of FCI, <http://www.freedomcentreinternational.org/our-history.php>, accessed on 1 August 2012.

¹⁷⁰ In an interview with Pastor Shadrach on 9 January 2014.

¹⁷¹ Stating the over-arching passion of the senior pastor of FCI by Pastor Nsokie on 20 August 2013.

are currently working on establishing churches in each of the nationalities represented in FCI such as Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Uganda, France, Nigeria and Malawi.¹⁷²

2.4.4 History of Dominion Centre, London

Dominion Centre traces its founding to Samson Kwaku Boafo, who came to Britain to study law at the University of London, founded Universal Prayer Group (UPG) Ministries in the 1960's in Britain. It is from this same group that the Freedom Centre International came out of as discussed above in 2.4.3. Whilst Sampson was away in Ghana after his education and few years of practice, the church was run by other leaders including Sam Ohene-Apraku, a young man who had just come to Britain to pursue theological education; and Shadrach Ofosuware, who had also come to live in Britain for his studies from the communist state of Yugoslavia.¹⁷³ A decision was later made in consultation with Samson Kwaku Boafo for Shadrach Ofosuware to move to South London to start a new branch of the church, with autonomy and independence though sharing the same charity status. There he initially called the church South London Temple and it is now known as Freedom Centre International.

Sam Ohene-Apraku remained with the Edmonton Temple as head pastor until the church acquired a property in 2004 on the high street in Wood Green, North London. In moving to this £3m facility the name was again changed to Dominion Centre to reflect the personal vision of the head Pastor, Rev Sam Ohene-Apraku. They have since refurbished the derelict building they bought into a state of the art complex with a restaurant, bookshop, meeting

¹⁷² An interview with the Senior Pastor of the church, FCI at the premises of the church in Welling on the 8 August 2013.

¹⁷³ An interview with Rev Ohene Apraku, Senior Pastor of DC, on 16 May 2014.

rooms and a banqueting hall.¹⁷⁴ The church has grown with over a thousand people in attendance every Sunday for worship. The Dominion Centre is independent and autonomous just like the Freedom Centre International although they can be traced to one founder.

2.5 Analysing the Churches: The People and the Vision

2.5.1 The People

It is realised that the churches used in this research as case studies are all predominantly Ghanaian, although I received a rebuff of that fact from all the leaders of the churches. They believe that their countries of origin do not necessarily reflect the people they attract, although it is currently the case. The leaders believe that in the course of time their white majority host communities will soon buy into their vision as a church and would come along. One of the leaders I interviewed stated that in spite of the fact that the predominant membership of the church is currently Ghanaian, they consider themselves a multicultural church, citing as an instance that there are members whose parents were originally Ghanaian, but were born in Britain with British citizenship and therefore cannot be described as Ghanaian. Some of these people have never been to Ghana before although they trace their ancestry to Ghana. There are also those who have gained citizenship from other European countries such as Germany, France, and Holland and have moved to Britain to settle and therefore cannot be fully described as Ghanaians due to their current citizenship. In spite of these explanations, one thing that is common beyond mere nationality is that the members share one ancestry and interestingly after the close of service one can hear a number of the Ghanaian languages being used among the members in conversations. From the observation and interacting with some of

¹⁷⁴ Information obtained from the website of DC www.dominioncentre.org, accessed 14 July 2011.

the lay leaders of the churches it looks as though the reason for the use of the Ghanaian languages is that most of the migrants that arrived from Germany, Holland and France are a bit elderly and not as highly educated as those who they come to meet in Britain. Some Ghanaian migrants who come to Britain from the non-English speaking European countries have not mastered the national languages formally used in those countries. They could only speak what is normally used in the street and for that matter found it difficult to support their growing kids with school homework and had to relocate to Britain. Also because Ghana is a former British colony and since that is home to them, the English language could be useful in case any of their children had to return to their ancestral home in future. Unfortunately, most of them were also not highly educated in Ghana prior to their migration to those European destinations; they do not have competence in the usage of the English language. The implication of this lack of competence at the time of entering Britain is that some of them tend to rely on benefits or do menial jobs that do not require much interaction with others. This in my estimation would lead any individual migrating to Britain from Ghana or even any of these European countries such as Germany, France and Holland to find a Ghanaian-led or a predominantly Ghanaian church as a form of social security and building social capital. The result of this movement into Britain either from Ghana or from Europe is the growth of the membership of these churches. On the other hand, the role of the church in assisting in integration may prevent some migrants from exploring other perspectives and opportunities for a much effective way of integrating into British society, thus diminishing the social capital.

There are two consequences I observed from this phenomenon. The first is the sense of security that these migrants seek; resulting in them building a close knit church community. The expression of love and concern for one another is strongly evident in their interactions

with one another; something that can be explained as a continuation of the communal type of living that exists in most cultures in Africa. The closeness gives them a sense of identity through a shared vision which most of the church leaders confirm is the driving force of the churches. My view would rather be that the vision is cast to take advantage of the community they have other than the vision being shared. In other words they gather together before they have a sense of accomplishing a vision, rather than the vision of the churches being the point of attraction or gathering. This is evident in the leadership of the churches knowing that these migrants seek some form of social security; through the networks they have in the churches. Their commitment to those networks will keep them in the church and whatever vision is cast; they would have their support, as they otherwise risk losing their identity as members of that church community. The second consequence is that the members of the churches often rally around their leaders and are somehow dependent on them for leadership and as God's spokespersons.

2.5.2 The Vision

All the churches used as case studies in this research have elaborate and clearly stated vision statements that they claim are the driving force of their ministries. Details of the visions of these churches as stated by the leaders of the churches and also on their websites are pragmatically questionable to the researcher. Are some of the infrastructural bits of the vision possible? For instance RCI wants to build a five thousand capacity auditorium and looking at the demography of the church as predominantly Ghanaian and the number of Ghanaians who live in London, the question is: is it entirely as simple as that or even at all possible? Notwithstanding the fact that there are hundreds of other Ghanaian churches in London

competing for the same group of people. Of course they claim their intention is to attract not only Ghanaians but also people from other ethnicities and races. However as I raised this question of the feasibility of the vision to build a five thousand capacity auditorium with the pastor of the church he clearly stated that it is God's work and that if God gives a vision he is able to make it happen. He also stated that there is an example in the city, referring to Matthew Ashimolowo's Kingsway International Christian Centre, which is said to have about ten thousand members attending services each week and has acquired a tract of land in Rainham in Essex, near London to build a church facility.¹⁷⁵ The scheduled time to commence building have delayed due to some planning permission issues and have since acquired property in Kent for its use.

However, it is without doubt that the vision of the churches gives the members a collective sense of identity in spite of their micro-ethnic lineages within the Ghanaian community. This sense of identity as ethnic minorities also spurs them on to achieve great things to prove to their host communities not only have they come to seek greener pastures but have something to offer to their communities. In one such instance during the opening of the FCI Building at Welling, political leaders were invited as though to bring them in to see what they have been able to achieve as an ethnic minority. The whole organisation seems to have been done in a way to make this statement; 'who said we couldn't do it, we have come of age'. In an intriguing turn of events that the choir of the church sung a song written and composed by Labi Siffre titled 'something inside so strong'. This is a song that Labi is thought to have written after watching a TV documentary on apartheid South Africa about their liberation struggle.¹⁷⁶ It also became a song that resonated with a lot of black people around the world in

¹⁷⁵ A telephone interview with Pastor Charles Benneh, Senior Pastor of Royal house Chapel International (RCI), London. Interview was undertaken on 11 September 2012.

¹⁷⁶ A participant observation of the opening of the FCI church building in Welling on 05 February 2012.

their struggle against racial discrimination, and their determination to break down the racial barriers to personal and collective achievements in society.

Inasmuch as most of the members of these churches may struggle to have their voices heard, collectively they believe that by pooling resources together to accomplish those collective visions they will be noticed for their efforts. In so doing, FCI, DC, with the exception of ICGC still in the process of purchasing a building, have acquired huge properties in London to house their churches. RCI still uses a rented school premises. One of the three however is in negotiations to refurbish it for use. The cost of the refurbishment is estimated to be £1.2m and has been contracted to Richmond, a firm owned by an Irish Christian family that specialises in building and refurbishment of churches and halls.¹⁷⁷ A bank in Britain part-finances the purchase; however the refurbishment of the property is partly funded by a CEO of a private bank who is a member of the parent church in Ghana.¹⁷⁸ This goes to show the transnational status of these Pentecostal churches, not only do funds flow out to their places of origin as many people may assume but funds also flow in to advance the course of these churches in Britain, as this example shows. In the expression of identity and recognition through their visions, they make the statement from the colonial era during the struggle for self-rule, from which most of the leaders have grown that ‘they are able to manage their own affairs and ready to take responsibility of others too’.

¹⁷⁷ Richmond was formed in 1984 by Sam and Mavis Stewart, who had identified a niche in the marketplace for a specialist company to design, construct and install new corporate interior schemes for pubs, restaurants, hotels and clubs. See <http://www.churchdesign.co.uk/portfolio1.htm>, accessed on 25 July 2012.

¹⁷⁸ These are information stated by the Rev Edwin Donkor, Senior Pastor of the International Central Gospel Church in London. Interview conducted on 26 July 2012.

2.5.3 Leadership

As discussed earlier, it is the leaders of the church that normally cast the vision; takes advantage of the shared and collective identity of the people within the established networks of the churches. It is not just because the vision gives them something to rally around. I observed that there were people in the churches who could not properly articulate the vision of the church but had so much to say about the atmosphere of togetherness in the church and the excellent leader they have. Several issues came to my attention about the leadership of the churches that in my view help maintain the transnational status of the churches.

The constant changes in the leadership of the RCI in London during the first few years of its establishment, those pastors who come in from Ghana to pastor the churches assume that because the members are predominantly Ghanaian, they may only have dealings with Ghanaians and are most of the time not prepared for the cultural shock. Unfortunately the people they come to pastor are in the process of integrating into British society and may have inculcated some aspects of the British culture, which makes them different from the pastors, who are familiar with culture in Ghana. For example in Ghana, a pastor of an average sized church could have a lot of the young members in the church give the pastor's family a helping hand with household chores because of their position as their 'spiritual parents' and also as those who rely on them for 'akwankyere' – direction in life. The discontinuity of this aspect for these migrant pastors is because, apart from the fact that it is only the affluents that have that kind of support in British society, most of the migrant members do shift based jobs. Some of their members even commit to more than one job at a time and would therefore have no time to spare at the pastor's house to help out with household chores. And so very soon some of these pastors realise that their 'religious superstar status' does not fit into the culture in

Britain, although they are celebrated to some extent. To some of these pastors this is a cultural shock.

2.6 Summary and Discussion

Migration involves people moving from one part of the world to another. This movement is either on a short term or long term basis. The duration of stay of these migrants in their new places of abode is normally determined by the factors that give rise to their migration. There is an ensuing debate on the subject of migration in nations across the world. This debate involves sending and receiving nations. It has been assumed over time for instance that people move from poorer nations to richer nations. For the poorer nations that these migrants move from, the argument is more of brain drain and its effects on economic and social development but has in more recent times shifted to brain-gain concentrating on the benefits to the receiving countries. But at the same time there is enough evidence to suggest that in some sending countries of the world such as Ghana, remittances from migrants across the world form a substantial part of their budget and for that matter their Gross Domestic Product (GDP). As at 2002, remittances formed about eight per cent of Ghana's Gross Domestic Product. From the perspective of the receiving nations these immigrants increase their populations and therefore put pressure on social amenities, such as health care, housing and schools within the communities where they reside. There have been instances where there are claims that the presence of migrants puts pressure on jobs, thus prompting the slogan 'British jobs for British people' in some communities since the economic recession began in 2008

until the present day.¹⁷⁹ There are calls for a tougher immigration policy for Britain for instance, as the statistics from the 2011 shows that fifty-five per cent of the 3.7 million increase in the population from the census in 2001 is caused by immigration¹⁸⁰. It is also evident that some of these migrants take the lower end jobs that most citizens would look down on and reject.

Various theories have been propounded as to the factors that give rise to migration. Among these theories discussed are the neo-classical economic theory, the new economic theory, dual labour theory, world systems theory, migration systems theory and transnational theory. These theories are somehow linked to the economic circumstances of the migrants and the prevailing circumstances in the receiving nations. However this raises a lot of practical questions such as why in the last decade alone a lot of British people have moved to much sunnier portions of Europe, such as Spain. It is estimated that about 400,000 British people live and own property in Spain¹⁸¹. In spite of the fact that most of these migrants to Spain are pensioners and those who move to establish their own businesses, the motivation according to some is the weather conditions and the house prices. This factor is normally not captured by the economic theories put forward to explain the migration phenomenon. Other factors such as education and religion can also be reasons for migration. For instance, people may believe God has sent them with an assignment to evangelise a nation. I met some from the churches used as case studies for this research that believe that this place is their promised land. They cite the biblical patriarch Abraham's example, as having been told by God to leave his parents' house for a place He (God) has prepared for him. They continue that although the

¹⁷⁹ A newspaper article quoting Gordon Brown as saying 'British Jobs for British People', obtained from www.theguardian.com/politics/2009/jan/30/brown-british-jobs-wprkers, accessed 21 November 2014.

¹⁸⁰ These statistics are obtained from the website of the Office of National Statistics, <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/interactive/vp2-2011-census-comparatively/index.html> and <http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/magazine-18853714>, accessed 27 July 2012.

¹⁸¹ <http://www.guardian.co.uk/news/datablog/2012/jan/26/europe-population-who-lives-where>, accessed on 28 July 2012.

road was not easy for Abraham, as he fought some wars along the way, he finally got there. For some migrants, these biblical narratives have become the inspiration to be strong in their struggles of integrating into British society and also the hope of a better future for them and their families in Britain. This is besides the fact that they are also sent as bearers of the good news for the revitalisation of Christianity in the northern hemisphere of the world. In some instances such as the International Central Gospel Church and the Royalhouse Chapel International a deliberate strategy was laid out to send ministers of the gospel to migrate to Britain with the purpose of evangelising and starting branches of their churches. However, Dominion Centre and Freedom Centre International were established to provide an avenue for migrant students and their families to worship with their 'kith and kin', and as a fraternity for social networking among others. It is also clear that these churches might have altered or moved on from the motivation for their establishment towards other reasons for their continuous existence. It must be noted however that some Ghanaian-led churches other than the ones used as case studies in this research are established in foreign lands as an indicator of success or purely for social prestige. They normally display their foreign branches on the websites of the home churches. This is done in a bid to increase the international prestige of the church as an organisation. This is the case because the average Ghanaian still associates success and ingenuity with the western world and reaching out to the western world is an indicator of the success of a ministry. If the 'white man' accepts the Ghanaian churches ministry in the 'white man's' country then the ministry is considered very significant. It can be clearly seen that the host communities negotiate the identity of the churches on the basis of the acceptance of the migrant churches. Also, although not once mentioned by the leaders or members of the churches, some of these churches began as projects at home with the view to improve the lives of the citizenry at their countries of origin. Others have also got plans to

establish projects with the same purpose. From the perspective of a critical observer, one could state that part of the reason for establishing churches in Britain by these churches from the homelands are partly to raise economic capital to help their countries of origin. This is a point that could possibly be met with a vehement rebuttal or denial from both members and leaders of the churches. And also apart from the fact that the churches have invested into infrastructure as earlier discussed in this chapter.

There is generally a strong case made for the link between migration and globalisation; and globalisation and Pentecostalism are working hand in hand to bring about the current influx of African-led churches and specifically Ghanaian-led churches in Britain. Because of globalisation, Pentecostals in other parts of the world have discovered the affinities they share with others around the world, such as their values, praxis, beliefs and tenets of faith. However there are nuances that Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches carry, that are unique to them because of the influence of the indigenous cosmology from the places of their origin. Transnational migration has to do with migrants maintaining ties with their countries of origin whilst in the foreign land. These ties could be political, social, economic and also religious as demonstrated in this chapter. It is likely that this uniqueness expressed by the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches due to the influences of the indigenous cosmology of their places of origin is in itself is a factor in defining the churches' transnational status. This is the case in the sense that the history, organisation and vision, and beliefs and praxis are constantly influenced by the spiritual formation and the current state of affairs in the country of origin. The churches profiled in this chapter all have a transnational status in this sense, and to an extent their membership growth is also linked to the state of affairs in the home country. This is because certain prevailing factors prompt people to move from their home countries and since people take their religious beliefs and affiliations with them, the Pentecostals among

them will worship in these Pentecostal churches. This creates opportunities for increases in the membership of the churches. The opportunity for growth in these churches brought about by new migrants joining also places a responsibility on the churches to help these migrants to integrate into their new society.

Certainly, when these migrants become part of these Ghanaian-led churches, deliberate and non-deliberate integration strategies are put in place to settle them in the churches and the communities in which they live. The integration strategies that these churches have in place, or intend to develop, to help their members are discussed and analysed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

INTEGRATION STRATEGIES ADOPTED BY THE GHANAIAN-LED PENTECOSTAL CHURCHES

3.1 Introduction

The merging of national markets and economies and the breaking down of geographical borders have led to the movement of goods and services, and even of people and cultures. Nations and states have criteria for admitting people through their borders on the basis of their likelihood to fit into their societies. Britain started welcoming migrants in large numbers soon after 1945. Migrants came from the Caribbean in the 1950s; the 1960s saw migrants arriving from the Indian subcontinent; expelled Ugandan Asians arrived in the 1970s; and there were sizable inflows from Eastern Europe and sub-Saharan Africa in the 1990s.¹⁸² Various immigration strategies have been developed over the years to bring in people with the requisite or desired skills to contribute to building a healthier British economy and society. Special criteria were drawn up to outline the skills shortage area where vacancies were to be filled by migrants.¹⁸³ Once these migrants have been admitted into the country, the concern of the government and the host society as a whole is how to integrate them successfully into society. The reason that integrating them becomes necessary is because most of the migration routes into the UK provide pathways that lead to permanent residence and citizenship. These

¹⁸² Alan Manning and Andreas Georgiadis, "Cultural Integration in the United Kingdom," in *Cultural Integration of Immigrants in Europe*. (eds). Yann Algan, Alberto Bisin, Alan Manning, and Thierry Verdier (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 260-261.

¹⁸³ See a working document that outlines the shortage occupation list and the criteria for eligibility. <http://www.ukba.homeoffice.gov.uk/sitecontent/documents/workingintheuk/shortageoccupationlistnov11.pdf>, accessed 20 July 13.

migrants come from different parts of the world with different cultures and so in order to build social cohesion, integrating these migrants into British society becomes paramount.

There has been much research on the various aspects of migrants' lives. Some of this research has examined migrants' economic and social circumstances and how these differ from those of the white majority population.

Some scholars have measured earning and employment.¹⁸⁴ Others have researched the diversity of the ethnic minority experience.¹⁸⁵ The differences between first and second-generation immigrants have also been explored, as have the role of migrants' religion (as opposed to their ethnicity)¹⁸⁶ and rates of integration by migrants.¹⁸⁷ Since many ethnic minority populations in Britain are of relatively recent origin, until very recently there has been little research into how migrants integrate into society and what they consider as integration, to assist in policy drafting by the government. Schiller et al. introduce another conceptual term in an attempt to define integration in a more practical way. They use the word incorporation from a transnational perspective instead of integration and define it as the processes of building or maintaining networks of social relations through which an individual or an organized group of individuals becomes linked to an institution recognized by one or

¹⁸⁴ B. R. Chiswick, "The Earnings of White and Coloured Male Immigrants in Britain," *Economica*, 47, (1980):81–87.; M. B. Stewart, "Racial Discrimination and Occupational Attainment in Britain," *Economic Journal*, 93, (1983): 521–541.

¹⁸⁵ D. H. Blackaby, D.G. Leslie, P. D. Murphy and N. C. O'Leary, "White/ Ethnic Minority Earnings and Employment Differentials in Britain: Evidence from the LFS," *Oxford Economic Papers* 54, (2002): 270–297.; K. Clark and S. Drinkwater, S., *Ethnic minorities in the Labour Market: Dynamics and Diversity*. (York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation. 2007).

¹⁸⁶ Lindley, J.K. "Race or religion? The Impact of Religion on the Employment and Earnings of Britain's Ethnic Communities," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 28, no. 3 (2002): 427–442.; D.H. Blackaby, D.G. Leslie, P.D. Murphy, and N.C. O'Leary, "White/ Ethnic Minority Earnings and Employment Differentials in Britain: Evidence from the LFS," *Oxford Economic Papers* 54, (2002) 270–297. D.H. Blackaby, D. G.Leslie, P.D. Murphy and N.C. O'Leary, "Born in Britain: How are Native Ethnic Minorities Faring in the British Labour Market," *Economic Letters* 88, (2005): 370–375.

¹⁸⁷ B.D. Bell, "The Performance of Immigrants in the United Kingdom: Evidence from the GH," *Economic Journal* 107, (1997): 333–344.; K. Clark. and J. Lindley, "Immigrant Labour Market Assimilation and Arrival Effects: Evidence from the UK Labour Force Survey," *IZA Discussion Paper No. 2228*, (2006).

more nation states.¹⁸⁸ In this thesis, I use the word integration may be used to refer to the processes of maintaining networks of social relations with recognition from one or more nation states, but also to individuals or groups immersing themselves in a society so as to feel a part of the society, being law abiding and accordingly benefiting from the privileges of association and residence. Therefore the word integration is used as a more encompassing term in this thesis.

3. 2 On Integration, Society and the Church

Within the broad framework of Schiller et al.'s understanding of integration, churches are one such institution that has recognition in both Britain and in Ghana, as institutions of biblical instruction, spirituality and culture. They are also social groups that provide a platform for networking for the advancement of the individual within the group. However, migrants prefer the use of the term integration in the way I have explained above.¹⁸⁹ Unfortunately, the role of churches in the process of integration has not been critically examined to ascertain the practical ways by which they assist their migrant members to integrate. In this chapter, I focus on the internal strategies and programmes the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches adopt in integrating their members into wider society. The churches not only provide a community for belonging, but they also embark on wider social, economic and religious programmes to assist in the integration of their migrant members. These programs and initiatives not only mitigate the pain of being 'removed' but they also assist with integration in the place of settlement. This enables migrants to have a transnational status,

¹⁸⁸Schiller et al, 'Beyond the Ethnic Lens', pp. 612-633.

¹⁸⁹ Discussion held with participants of the interview, particularly of the focus group at FCI.

maintaining ties between the place of origin and settlement.¹⁹⁰

Most of the churches' initiatives to assist their members to integrate are internally organised. These initiatives have included: welfare assistance to migrants in the form of financial hand-outs; holding immigration and nationality forums to inform members about how to regularise their stay and avoid falling foul of the law; organising personal development and leadership training for members to give them the necessary tools for personal development and effectiveness in leadership and to increase their confidence, which they consider key to success in every area of endeavour; and financial empowerment and business workshops. The churches have also used external training agencies to bring information and skill training to the members. To facilitate these programmes, the churches have used both local speakers and international speakers with strong ties to their communities, and have employed mass media including TV and radio. The churches have assigned themselves the task of charting and appropriating religious space both within and outside the immediate cultural contexts from which they emerged in order to legitimize their place within British society.¹⁹¹ The extent to which they integrate will determine how strong their ties with their places of origin will be, and thus how stable their transnational status is, as the stories of the migrants suggest.

The importance of churches as agents of integration comes to the fore in filling in the gaps of state-funded initiatives where the rhetoric and practice do not match. Migrants as minorities can feel swallowed up by the culture of the host society and sometimes feel left out. Attempts to correct this have emphasised examining the conditions required to achieve a just society where both citizens and migrants feel catered for.¹⁹² This has been the position of

¹⁹⁰ Fumanti, "The Moral Economy of the African Diaspora," 7.

¹⁹¹ Adogame, "Betwixt Identity and Security," 25.

¹⁹² Andrew Mason, "Integration, Cohesion and National Identity: Theoretical Reflections on Recent British Policy," *British Journal of Political Science* 40, (2010): 857-874.

governments of the host society and is evidenced in a speech delivered by the former Prime Minister Tony Blair in December 2006.¹⁹³ In that speech he maintained that migrants in Britain had to find a way to integrate into British society. The Prime Minister and many others who shared his view at the time were proposing that migrants who are part of ethnic minorities should make the effort to be absorbed into the culture of the larger host society. Many considered this to be not far removed from the assimilationist policy directives and strategies that existed before the acceptance of the integration idea. The lack of a definite definition of integration at the time led to a distinction being drawn between integration and assimilation. Instead of having a working definition of the subject that had the potential of shaping public policy and directives, it was assumed that integration in practice was a straightforward issue, which it was not. Long before the Blair era, Home Secretary Roy Jenkins gave a speech shortly after assuming office in 1966, in which he confirmed this confusion about defining integration.

Integration is perhaps a rather loose word. I do not regard it as meaning the loss, by immigrants, of their own national characteristics and culture. I do not think that we need in this country a 'melting pot', which will turn everybody out in a common mould, as one of a series of carbon copies of someone's misplaced vision of the stereotyped Englishman.....I define integration therefore, not as a flattening process of assimilation but as equal opportunity accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance. This is the goal.¹⁹⁴

In his definition Jenkins gives us an account of what assimilation is rather than defining integration. He seems to point out that the process of assimilation is when ethnic minorities are made to abandon the values and practices which give them their peculiar identities in

¹⁹³ A speech delivered by Tony Blair on 8 December 2006, 'Our Nation's Future - Multiculturalism and Integration', <http://www.itnsource.com/shotlist/ITN/2006/12/08/R08120603/?v=1#sthash.l0mKQJ7y.dpuf> R08120603/?v=1, accessed 21 July 13.

¹⁹⁴ Roy Jenkins, "Racial Equality in Britain," in *Essays and Speeches* (London: Collins, 1967), 267.

favour of the predominant culture and way of life of the majority in society. The meaning carried by Jenkins seems to have changed a little since. In 2004, when launching the *Strength in Diversity* consultation document, the then Home Secretary David Blunkett reiterated that ‘in Britain integration is not about assimilation into a common culture so that original identities are lost’.¹⁹⁵ This statement recognised the confusion around the subject of integration of migrants by policy makers, politicians and leaders of civil groups, acknowledging that previous approaches to integration had in practice been more assimilationist than had been intended. Trevor Phillips, Chair of the Commission for Racial Equality, argued that the existing policies and strategies were merely treating ‘integration’ as an alternative word for ‘assimilation’: practically, nothing had changed because the definition of integration still required some form of uniformity in the way ‘we speak, look, dress and act’.¹⁹⁶ However, from the discussions above, one thing that emerges from attempts to distinguish integration from assimilation is that the policy of assimilation strongly persuades members of ethnic minority groups to transform their identity to become more like the majority. Although there could be some overlapping between these policies, the idea of integration is about persuading not only the minority but all groups in society ‘to change and adapt to some or all of their values, practices or behaviour so that the lives of members of different groups become intertwined –in effect so that they can live their lives together’.¹⁹⁷ This is where the differences in opinions of migrants and policy makers are clear, as most migrants are not much concerned about the adaptation of the values and culture of the host community because they believe the process of cultural adaptation is natural. They are more

¹⁹⁵ Home Office, *Strength in Diversity: Towards a Community Cohesion and Race Equality Strategy*, at <http://dera.ioe.ac.uk/5009/>, accessed on 18 October 2012.

¹⁹⁶ Phillips, “After 7/7: Sleeping to Segregation” a speech delivered on 22 September 2005, at <http://www.humanities.manchester.ac.uk/socialchange/research/social-change/summer-workshops/documents/sleepwalking.pdf>, accessed on 19 October 2012.

¹⁹⁷ Mason, “Integration, Cohesion and National Identity,” 861.

interested in integration that recognises them as who they are and being able to access the opportunities, privileges and benefits for all who are resident in the state. It is this perspective that underpins the policy that promotes the learning of English and the British way of life through the ‘Life in the UK Test’ as a requirement for permanent residence and of naturalisation to British citizenship, for example.¹⁹⁸ Many migrants regard ‘Life in the UK Test’ as a way for the establishment to make money from them. The authorities are seen to have taken advantage of their inability to present an organised front to present their grievances. For some respondents I spoke to, the consultations the government undertook prior to setting out some of these policy initiatives do not go deep and wide enough to involve the very people who are affected by the policies.¹⁹⁹ From the perspective of the policy makers, there is some sense that these and similar policies have assimilationist tendencies, but these assimilationist policies are inevitable in facilitating the process of the integration of the migrants themselves. Policy makers argue that ‘Life in the UK Test’ which was introduced in 2007 would enable migrants to feel at home when they become British citizens due to their mastery of the English language and their basic knowledge of British life.²⁰⁰ This approach they believe would make migrants feel a sense of belonging based on their knowledge of the culture, values, politics, economics and social life in Britain. In spite of the motive for this approach to integration, one cannot ignore the subtle assimilation strategy embedded in this policy, which produces a tendency towards greater uniformity in society. However, this same example of the ‘Life in the UK Test’ can also be a basis for integration, because the content of

¹⁹⁸ Focus groups discussion at ICGC and FCI held on 17 November 2012 at the Frederick Bremmer School in Walthamstow and 09 December 2012 at the Premises on Upper Wickam Street, Welling respectively.

¹⁹⁹ Kwame, Effe, and Adonteng raised related issues of the ‘Knowledge of Life in the UK Test’ as a requirement if obtaining Permanent Residence and Naturalisation in separate interviews I conducted on the 14-17 November 2012 respectively.

²⁰⁰ Mason, “Integration, Cohesion and National Identity,” 857-874.

the test seems to provide information on accessing opportunities, privileges and benefits that are important to migrants.²⁰¹

Considering the policy initiatives highlighted from the 1960s to the present in Britain, various definitions and distinctions have been made about policies of assimilation and integration. In the end one thing that is clear is that the perspective of the migrant differs considerably from that of the policy makers; although it is fair to say that each want to achieve the same goal of providing the basis for social cohesion whilst still enabling the identity of groups to be celebrated. From the participant observation carried out in this research, described in other sections of this chapter, there are both similarities and differences in the way that policy makers and politicians, and migrants, understand integration and policy approaches to it. Whereas the policy makers and politicians approach integration with what I refer to as a ‘top-down’ approach, the migrant community approaches integration with a ‘bottom-up’ approach. The ‘top-down’ approach is where the policy makers persuade members of both the minority and majority communities to adapt to each other’s values and practices so that their lives are intertwined through ‘macro’ level policies. Policy makers consider this to be an effective way of promoting integration in society through social cohesion.

However it is obvious that social cohesion as a vehicle for integration does not happen only through the adaptation of values; in addition, the individual’s wellbeing and social status influence their confidence in being accepted by the cultural majority. For someone from an ethnic minority background, accepting their way of life without facilitating their involvement in community-building (such as their representation on teams, committees and boards that

²⁰¹ The Government website provides an overview of the content of the ‘Life In The UK Test’ at <https://www.gov.uk/life-in-the-uk-test/overview>; and a downloadable pdf version of the ‘Life in the UK Test’, <http://www.tsoshop.co.uk/bookstore.asp?FO=1240167&ProductID=9780113413553&Action=Book&TRACKID=002353>, accessed on 12 September 2012.

actually matter in shaping policy or delivering initiatives of conspicuous value to the community) will still fall short of the ideals advocated by the policy makers and politicians. A respondent mentioned that the school her children attended needed a parent-governor from the ethnic minority community. She was placed in the team that was in charge of the school's finances, and although she was about the most professionally qualified in the area of finance and accounting, her input was hardly accepted. According to her, the head of that team would always refer to her when almost all opinions had already been expressed and decisions had somehow been made in a subtle manner. And yet when the school organises public functions they want her to be present to show how diverse the school community is in its governing. This she revealed was very intimidating but she has refused to withdraw because somehow in the hearts of the other team members they can acknowledge her abilities on the Resources Committee on which she serves. This according to her is not the face of integration the policy makers and politicians intend to see in the country.²⁰²

Migrant groups and the churches through their interventionist programmes to help migrants to integrate, use the 'bottom-up approach', although they do not refer to it as such. The bottom-up approach involves migrants being given the necessary recognition, acceptance, skills, and opportunities to fulfil their potential and make use of their creative abilities, at the same time as contributing to building society and realising their personal goals. In this way these migrants gradually find their place in society and build up their confidence to network within their communities through the people they meet in the process of pursuing their aspirations. This networking then provides them with a platform to positively affect others in their communities and can also be better understood from the perspective of their culture. This paves the way for a natural form of integration to take place at the 'micro' cultural level of

²⁰² An interview with Abena F. a Chartered Accountant, a single parent with 3 children, who lives in the Harringey Borough but works in Westminster Borough. Interviewed on 16 September 2012.

society. All the approaches used by the minority communities are guided by the philosophy of being successful and using success to gain recognition. Recognition leads to networking and the networking becomes the platform to integrate. The migrants want to be seen as a part of their new society, and not to have their presence perceived as being detrimental to the host society. The only way to prove their recognition and acceptance is through involvement in community building.²⁰³

There is a different response to the issue of integration from the perspective of the ethnic minority. There is a general sense that more can be done if the approach of policy makers and politicians became more pragmatic, taking into consideration the perspectives of ethnic minorities.²⁰⁴ It is at this point that the responses from the migrant community become important, particularly in relation to their ‘bottom-up’ approach to integration, in contrast to the ‘top-down’ approach of the policy makers. This reflects the way in which these migrants gradually find their place in society and build up their confidence to network within their communities through the people they come across in the process of pursuing their aspirations. This networking provides them with a platform to positively affect others in the communities and can also be better understood from the perspective of their culture. This paves the way for a natural form of integration to take place at the ‘micro’ cultural level of society. All the approaches used by the minorities are guided by the philosophy of being successful and using the success to gain the recognition, recognition leads to networking and the networking becomes the platform to integrate.²⁰⁵ The biblical narrative that one of the pastors mentioned is quite significant to this guiding philosophy of the churches and migrants, although not

²⁰³Rebecca Wickes; John R. Hipp ; Renee Zahnow; Lorraine Mazerolle, “Seeing’ Minorities and Perceptions of Disorder: Explicating the Mediating and Moderating Mechanisms of Social Cohesion,” *Criminology* 51, no. 3 (2003): 519-560.

²⁰⁴Patrick Sturgis; Ian Brunton-smith; Jouni Kuha; Jonathan Jackson, “Ethnic diversity, segregation and the social cohesion of neighborhoods in London,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, (2013): 1-21.

²⁰⁵Kathryn Scott and Tess Liew, “Social Networking as a Development Tool: A Critical Reflection,” *Urban Studies* 49, 12 (2012): 2751-2767.

many would acknowledge that as a deliberate philosophy developed by any one person, seeing it rather as a result of the collective wisdom of people in their search for a solution to their marginalisation by society. The biblical narrative is from Luke 11:33; ‘No one, when he has lit a lamp, puts it in a secret place or under a basket, but on a lampstand, that those who come in may see the light’. According to Pastor Edwin, the only way by which society would find need for the ethnic minorities and actually make room for them is when people within the ethnic minority shows signs of success and excellence in what they do.²⁰⁶ He was also quick to quote another verse from the Bible, Proverbs 18:16: ‘A man’s gift makes room for him, and brings him before great men’. He is of the view that both individuals and the ethnic minority community as a whole can gain recognition through the expression of their gifts and abilities and in contributing to the various communities where they find themselves.²⁰⁷ He believes this will attract the attention of the wider community, and they will in turn seek the source of the success, beginning a process of integration through the networking that may result from that initial enquiry by individuals into the success story.

This application of the biblical passage by the pastor can be problematized, however. According to the bible the ‘gift’ brings the individual ‘before great men’: it says nothing about being accepted and therefore given the opportunity to integrate. It is however fair to acknowledge that the verse of scripture quoted sounds as though it is referring to gaining recognition from important people in society for what one can potentially achieve and can contribute to the society they live in. This recognition from Pastor Edwin’s point of view is the beginning of the process of integration within the wider community. He was passionate

²⁰⁶ Pastor Edwin Donkor is the Senior Pastor of ICGC, London. He shares his views on the significance of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches and their struggle for recognition in their host communities. In an interview conducted on 26 July 2012.

²⁰⁷ A Middleton; Alan Murie; Richard Groves, “Social Capital and Neighbourhoods that Work,” *Urban Studies* 42, (2005): 1711-1717.

about the fact that an individual's social standing, race and even colour wouldn't be an issue to dwell on if they were making a significant contribution to others.²⁰⁸ This reflects the populist view among ethnic minorities that success is colour blind. True to the views shared by Pastor Edwin and Pastor Ofosu-Ware in a later interview, most of the churches that I researched concentrated on developing members in being successful at what they do as a way of assisting them to integrate into their communities through gaining recognition and acceptance, which is a component of social cohesion.²⁰⁹ This is a trend some scholars, such as Gifford, wrongfully refer to as the Americanisation of the Pentecostal churches in Britain, because of the prosperity dimension to it. In my view the churches do what they do as a response to the socio-political and economic milieu.²¹⁰ In converse, the Pentecostal churches' focus on emphasising success in their churches is not unique to the church in Britain but can be traced to Ghana, although the circumstances scholars attribute to causing the phenomenon may be different.

The emphasis on success and prosperity in Pentecostal churches in Britain and Ghana once again reinforces the transnational links of these churches and their members to the country of origin. In Ghana, the religious cosmology, economic deprivations and poverty in general could be cited as contributing to the appeal of the success and prosperity message in Pentecostal denominations.²¹¹ There through training, the churches provide members with an environment and socio-economic tools with which to develop themselves. And to an extent the Ghanaian Pentecostal churches have attempted to become micro communities where these tools are tested. As a consequence, the 'bottom-up' approach to dealing with integration

²⁰⁸ Rev Edwin Donkor, senior pastor of International Central Gospel Church, in Walthamstow, London; Conducted on 26 July 2012.

²⁰⁹ Pastor Shadrach Ofosu-Ware, senior pastor of Freedom Centre International in South London.

²¹⁰ Gifford, *Ghana's New Christianity*, 182.

²¹¹ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 32-52.

becomes inward looking in focus. The churches focus on integration within their own community first before seeking integration with the wider community. This is done as part of the quest of the church to fulfil part of its mandate to bring back the gospel to the northern hemisphere, within the context of reverse mission.²¹² A migrant's association with a support network such as the church is crucial for the individual and the whole community's recognition within the wider society. From the perspective of the church and the ethnic minority as a whole one cannot achieve the social cohesion that policy makers and politicians deem vital to integration if individuals are not empowered to fulfil their potential and use their gifts and talents. I observed that these churches were preoccupied with making their mark within their communities through ambitious projects. ICGC, FCI DC have all acquired huge disused commercial properties, sought planning permission from appropriate authorities and turned them into edifices of grandeur to make a public statement of their presence and influence. The churches don't assume the 'top-down' approach of the policy makers and politicians is ineffective but they think their approach can go further in bringing about integration.

This chapter includes an analysis of the various integration strategies adopted by the churches to help migrants and ethnic minority members integrate into society, with specific references to initiatives and people involved in executing the initiatives.

3.3 Social welfare intervention programs to mitigate 'uprootedness'

Many European countries, including Britain, have in recent years experienced an influx of

²¹² Claudia Währisch-oblau, "From Reverse Mission To Common Mission... We Hope," *International Review of Mission* 89, no. 354 (2000): 467-483.

migrants from sub-Saharan Africa. Most European states have had to rely on the third sector in responding to social welfare needs within their countries.²¹³ In more recent times, studies have focused on social policy and how the roles of the private and voluntary social welfare providers have changed with time.²¹⁴ Historically, the church has worked together with state agencies in facilitating social welfare schemes to support the needy in society, although that has not been the case in other European countries, such as France.²¹⁵ The point of departure in this thesis is that in the cases studied, Pentecostal churches provide social welfare intervention programmes with very little and in most cases no link at all to state agencies and they do not solicit support from the state for their initiatives. It is an internal initiative aimed at supporting members to integrate. Not much research has examined how Faith Based Organisations (FBOs) that fall under the third sector have provided social welfare to their members and what has been the motive. From the findings of this research I posit that the social welfare interventions initiated by FBOs and the Ghanaian-led churches in particular are to assist members to integrate their members into society.

In most Western European countries, as in Britain, there are different generations of migrants depending on which part of the world those groups of migrants have come from.

The six largest ethnic minority groups in Britain today and in descending population size order are: Indian, Pakistani, Black Caribbean, Black African, Bangladeshi, and Chinese. These groups differ in the timing of their arrival. While the majority of immigrants from the Caribbean arrived in the period between 1955 and 1964, the main time of arrival of

²¹³ İpek Gocmen, "The Role of Faith-based Organisation in Social Welfare Systems," *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly* 42, 3 (2013): 495-516. Abrahamson, P. *Changing welfare mixes in Europe*. (Copenhagen: University of Copenhagen. 1999).; Baines, S., Hardill, I., & Wilson, R. "Introduction: Remixing the economy of welfare? Changing roles and relationships between the state and the voluntary and community sector," *Social Policy and Society* 10, (2011): 337-339.; Bode, I. "Disorganized welfare mixes: Voluntary agencies and new governance regimes in Western Europe," *Journal of European Social Policy* 16, (2006): 346-359.

²¹⁴ Bode, I. "Disorganized welfare mixes: Voluntary agencies and new governance regimes in Western Europe," *Journal of European Social Policy* 16, (2006): 346-359.; Daly, M. "Governance and social policy," *Journal of Social Policy* 32, 1 (2003): 113-128.

²¹⁵ Gocmen, "The Role of Faith-based Organisation in Social Welfare Systems," pp. 495-516.

Black African, Indian and Pakistani first generation groups was between 1965 and 1974.²¹⁶

The 2011 census records few changes in the ethnic minority composition as shown by Peach in the 2001 Census above. The largest ethnic minority groups according to the 2011 Census are as follows, in descending order: Indian, Pakistani, Black African, Black Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Chinese. This excludes ethnic minorities of European descent such as Polish.²¹⁷ Comparing the findings of the 2001 and 2011 censuses, on the composition of the ethnic minority groups' shows that Black Africans, defined as those who consider their origins from Africa with African parentage moved to third position, overtaking the Black Caribbean population. There is however no indication of whether this increase is as a result of the increase in the birth rate in the last 10 years of those who already reside in the UK or whether it is due to the increase in the arrival of new migrants. However, unsubstantiated claims suggest this is the result of the intermarriage of Black Caribbean males to white women whose 'mixed race' children tend to be integrated physically and culturally into the white population.²¹⁸

To this end, the growth of the Black African minority group is quite significant to this study because it is linked with the influx of migrants into the African Pentecostal churches. It has to be noted that these migrant groups are predominantly made up of those seeking asylum, students, those seeking better standard of living and also the professionals.²¹⁹ In seeking to understand the interventions provided by churches to their immigrant congregation members,

²¹⁶ C. Peach, "Black-Caribbeans: class, gender and geography," in C. Peach (ed.) *Ethnicity in the 1991 Census: the Ethnic Minority Populations of Great Britain*, Vol. 2, (London: HMSO, 1996), 25-43.

²¹⁷ <http://www.ons.gov.uk/ons/rel/census/2011-census/key-statistics-for-local-authorities-in-england-and-wales/rpt-ethnicity.html#tab-Ethnicity-in-England-and-Wales>, accessed on 10 January 2013.

²¹⁸ Author Unknown, 'The Evaporation of the African-Caribbean Community' http://www.intermix.org.uk/forum//forum_posts.asp?TID=2285, accessed on 06 June 2014.

²¹⁹ Hellen Conolly and Amanda White, "*The Different Experiences of the United Kingdom's Ethnic and Religious Populations*". www.ons.gov.uk, accessed on 10 January 2013.

the intergenerational mobility of migrants and the integration of migrants into their communities need to be examined on a case-by-case basis. This is because in certain instances these migrants who patronize and accept support through these church-based welfare interventions are from a mixture of first, second and in some cases third generation migrant groups. The first generation migrants refer to migrants who are the first from their families to travel to the UK without having a relative already resident in the UK. Second generation migrants here refer to migrants who are the offspring or very close relatives of migrants already resident in the UK, such as children, nephews, nieces, aunts and uncles. In some instances these second generation migrants have come to the UK through some other relative and were once dependent on the relative who served as their host. The third generation is made up of those who are third in line in the family through birth; children of those born in Britain. It is also worth noting that the Ghanaian cultural definition of an 'acquaintance', ranges from a biological relation or just someone who hails from the same village or town. This has to be understood from a sociological perspective as most societies in sub-Saharan Africa live communally, and there is a sense of 'sisterhood and brotherhood' when they meet outside their villages and towns of origin. This has given rise to hometown associations, former secondary schools and year groups associations for instance, but these will not be discussed as part of this chapter because they are loosely formed associations.

Of the sixty people interviewed for the research, 39 (65% of the total respondents) claimed to be first generation migrants, meaning that they were the first from their families and hometowns to arrive in the UK although some of them reported that they had relatives who had also migrated to other parts of the world. Fifteen respondents (25%) referred to themselves as second-generation migrants and six respondents (10%) described themselves as belonging to the third generation. The average age of the sixty respondents was 43 years but

respondents were spread across the various generational groupings from 18- 60 years age range. This however gives a sense of the average age of members of most of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches and it can also be regarded as an indication of how relatively new they are on the shores of Britain. Although the age distribution does not necessarily account for how old these churches are, it comes down on their appeal to young people and the fact that they are made up of a network of mates from the universities, secondary schools, primary schools and ‘friends of friends’ etc. from Ghana. The age distribution has similarities to the composition of Pentecostal churches in Ghana.

As mentioned earlier, migrants who accept support through the social interventions established by the churches can be found across the generational divide.²²⁰ One would have thought, examining the composition of the generational divide, that only those of the later generations would seek this kind of support. One might presume that those migrants who have been here longer should be settled enough to be self-supporting. Among these first generation migrants, there are those who have done odd jobs, even to pay agents to bring their relatives to the UK, and as yet they have been unable to access the opportunities within society for a better life. The issue of paying agents to bring relatives over to Britain is almost a tradition in some families where resources are pooled together to get an individual to travel abroad and that individual in turn within a specified time has to pay an agent to bring another hardworking family member over to Britain. As I spoke to the pastors of these churches and some of the respondents, some of the causes attributed to first generation migrants’ inability to settle and take advantage of the opportunities available within British society for a better life were a lack of higher education, employment skills and work permits. As a result of these factors, migrants could not look for work on the open job market. Although some would

²²⁰ Anthony Warnes and Allan Williams, “Older Migrants in Europe: A New Focus for Migration Studies,” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 32, 8 (2006): 1266-1277.

argue that there is still help outside of the church for those in these kinds of situations they often would not approach charities for fear of being deported. There is generally no trust for white-led initiatives of support for African migrants among these migrants. Some of these migrants who are parents have had to maintain two or three jobs in order to make ends meet. Typically in this situation the hours of each job are very short, about two or three hours, but the locations are so far apart that they have to travel sometimes for an hour and half changing between trains and buses to get to the work site. That makes the total hours of working sometimes twelve to sixteen hours each day.²²¹ The result of these long hours of working is that these migrant parents leave their children in the care of other friends and relatives and in some cases no one helps them with their school homework or supervises their home study. The result is that often they do badly at school and are unable to continue their education beyond the GCSEs and so are unable to hold down any meaningful job.

A respondent I spoke to was Borteley, a Ga²²² was raised by her uncle and his wife, because she had lost her dad when she was just six years old. Her working life started as an apprentice at a hair beautician salon in Mamprobi, a suburb of Accra. In the course of her apprenticeship, at around the age of twenty, one of their regular customers, a woman about sixty years old told her she had a daughter abroad who was a nurse and had just had a baby and wanted someone to baby sit her child whilst she went back to work. This elderly woman facilitated her visa and travelling documents to travel to the UK. Unfortunately after five years of living with her host in the UK, the child she was taking care of started school and she was asked to leave the house without any friends or permit to work. She met a man who quickly recognised

²²¹ A narration by Angie of her experience for 10 years prior to obtaining her permanent resident permit in 2010, interview conducted on 10 October 2012; Owuraku also from another church other than Angies also shared a similar story of working long hours at the detriment of their children's welfare, interview conducted on 25 November 2012.

²²² The Ga ethnic group inhabits the plains along the coastlands of the Gulf of Guinea in the Greater Accra Region. The Ga ethnic group comprises mainly of the Ga-Mashie groups occupying neighborhoods in the central part of Accra; <http://www.kwabla.com/ga.html>, accessed on 13 January 13.

her as a Ghanaian and promised to help her. She started going out with the man until she got pregnant. According to her he then managed to get her council accommodation where she had her son. But that was about the last time she saw the man alive. As a single parent she had to do odd jobs at odd hours and had to leave her son with friends. She had to pick her son up at 10:00pm or later each night from the different places and people with whom she left him. On completing his GCSEs without enough passes to pursue further education, her son joined one of the East London gangs. Her son, Kwasi P., now 25 years old has been to prison on a knife crime conviction. Kwasi had no qualifications and was jobless until he came to the church in January 2010, as part of his New Year resolution and a promise to his girlfriend who had also become a member of the church two months earlier through a friend of hers. Borteley introduced me to this young man who also testified about the role the church has played in transforming his life with the sermons preached; the social intervention programmes such as the welfare system for those in acute financial need; and the entrepreneurial training programs for those who want to start social enterprises. Borteley catalogued the benefits she had gained from the church since she joined about ten years ago, which included emotional support, financial support and career development workshops. She admits that at her age she has not actually sought to do anything about a career but the programmes have immensely benefitted her son. Above all she extolls the virtues of the pastor and leadership of the church for the transformation she has seen in her son, Kwasi P.²²³ The story of Borteley was corroborated with other stories from other migrants in the Focus groups at ICGC.²²⁴

The narrative above represents the experiences of many of these migrants and the reason why they rely so much on the churches for support, and why they in turn support the churches in

²²³ Borteley is 51 years old and a member of the Dominion Centre in Wood Green, London, Interview conducted on 25 November 2012.

²²⁴ With members of the Focus group discussions at the ICGC.

accomplishing their visions. The Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches seem to have succeeded in carving a niche for themselves in the area of helping migrants deal with the painful experiences of ‘uprootedness’ in their new societies. The churches’ actions can therefore be recognised as a way of facilitating their migrant members’ integration into British society not only for the benefit of the individuals involved but also reducing the burden on the government in dealing directly with such issues and their attendant problems.

A similar story emerged during the fieldwork from RCI. Esinam, a 31year old woman, came to Britain as a first generation migrant at the age of eight. She joined her mother who had divorced from her father two years earlier. According to her the divorce was as a result of her mother’s inability to come home because she had no resident permit. Her father had also been continuously refused entry clearance visa to visit her mum. In the process her dad started going out with another woman in Ghana and her mum opted for divorce.²²⁵ In her narrative, Esinam, who is now a single parent, recalls that that her mum worked long hours at the time. She had to go to a family friend of her mum’s who was a hair beautician and worked from her living room at home, after school till her mum had returned from work most of the time around 10:00pm. According to her, this continued through secondary school and unfortunately she did not do well in her GCSEs. She had to do menial jobs but also fell pregnant in the course of time. She recalled that when considering an abortion at six weeks of her pregnancy, because she could not afford to have the baby, a friend invited her to attend an event at the Royalhouse Chapel International where she is currently a member. In the course of the service she was called forward to the podium by the guest speaker who was a prophet from Ghana; he told her that she was considering aborting her pregnancy and that it was the last she would be pregnant if she aborted the child. She felt embarrassed because the man of

²²⁵ Esinam is in her mid-thirties at the Royalhouse Chapel International in London. She is a single parent with a daughter, interview conducted on 07 October 2012.

God was blunt but she had the urge to obey the instructions God had given through the prophet. She says she has started her own business, which is steadily growing, through one of the church's initiatives to get people into business.

It is worth noting that the fact that Esinam's decision was affected by the words of the prophet from Ghana, is in itself an expression of the transnational statuses of these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches. Elements from the prophetic movement in Ghana affect the lives of Ghanaian migrants and through encounters such as Esinam's there is a continuity of the belief systems and praxis of the African Pentecostal churches in Britain.²²⁶ In this particular case Esinam was very young and clearly stated it was her first encounter with the 'prophetic'. In Ghana, the prophets are very powerful men who claim to have access to spiritual information and can therefore foretell occurrences in advance of their happening.²²⁷ This has become acceptable within the Pentecostal churches in Ghana because there is a parallel in the Indigenous religions of Ghana that makes it easy for these Pentecostals to accept their roles within the churches. It is understood that some of the belief systems and praxis of the Ghanaian Pentecostal churches are heavily influenced by their indigenous religious beliefs and practices.²²⁸ These elements within the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain will be analysed in the next chapter.

Although almost everyone I interviewed had their own story of the difficulties immigrants encounter during their stay and integration into British society, not all of them had a grim story to tell. There are those who in spite of the difficulties they initially went through, are gainfully employed and have taken advantage of some of the schemes initiated by the

²²⁶ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 32-46.

²²⁷ Cephas Omenyo, "Man of God Prophecy Unto Me: The Prophetic Phenomenon in African Christianity," *Studies in World Christianity* 17, 1 (2011): 30-49.

²²⁸ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 32-46.

government to make use of skilful migrants. At the International Central Gospel Church, East London, Amoako, Thomas, Oteng and Audrey stated that they and some other friends in the church they know had been beneficiaries of the Highly Skilled Migrant Programme (HSMP) which was a new visa system which enable skilled migrants to gain settlement, while they make a contribution to British society.²²⁹ Amoako divulged that he had been to Britain on two different occasions during his years as a student from the University of Cape Coast in Ghana on a working holiday visa. On completion he worked for three years by which time he was also studying for the CIMA (Chartered Institute of Management Accountants) Ghana examinations. Upon completion he moved to the UK to find work, which he eventually found after obtaining the requisite visa that enabled him to be employed without employers breaching the Home Office rules. It seems from Amoako, Thomas, Oteng and Audrey and the other friends they know in the church who had benefited from the HSMP, that the key to start a successful process of integration had been education and their ability to understand and access the opportunities that were available to them. The principal elements in most of these stories were the possession of the requisite immigration documents which enable these migrants to move around to look for work in mainstream employment and also having the required skills to be able to access qualification based jobs.²³⁰ In cases when they had the skills, the issue was how to approach the jobs that were best suited for them. When this issue was discussed, one common issue amongst the migrants I spoke to was that because of fear of deportation, most of them relied heavily on hearsay and made no efforts to seek information from the right source. In that sense those they came to meet in Britain, and those who hosted

²²⁹ The HSMP was discontinued in November 2006 and replaced with a new Tier system with those that previously applied for the HSMP being allowed to switch to Tier 1 General of the new Tier system. It came with its attendant problems with HSMP Forum limited, winning a high court case to reverse the new route established for those who wanted to settle in Britain permanently after working for 5 years. <http://www.hsmpforumltd.com/index.html>, accessed on 14 January 2013.

²³⁰ Amoako, Brew, Adu and Segbefia stated in their interview they had their permanent resident permit through the HSMP route and currently work for various firms in the City of London in professional roles. Interview conducted on 07 October 2012.

them during their period of acclimatisation, heavily influenced their knowledge of British society and informed them of the rules and opportunities that they could take advantage of.

|In the next section I will examine some of the programmes the churches embarked on or plan to embark on, to assist their migrant congregations to integrate into British society. Each of the churches have their own programmes depending on their composition and some of these programmes have been discontinued due to peculiar difficulties associated with running them. These programmes include Immigration and Nationality Fora; Financial Empowerment and Business Workshops (Social Enterprises); and Personal Development and Leadership Training.

3.3.1 Immigration and Nationality Forum

There are strong indications of the sense of urgency that led to the organisation of the Immigration and Nationality forum in the churches I visited. Though the word immigration features prominently in how these churches identify their initiatives on providing information to members on immigration, each of them have called them different names for example ‘Eat the good of the land’, ‘Tread upon it possess it’. In some cases subsequent programmes with the same focus have had their names changed or altered to disguise them to the outside world. The idea of changing the names of the fora is also to make the members comfortable to attend these initiatives without making them feel that sense of giving away their immigration status at such meetings. There is also no indication of a deliberate, simultaneous and concurrent organisation of these programmes in the four churches I conducted the interviews. Each of the churches have organised these programs independently of each other. It has strongly featured on the agenda of the churches as part of their responsibility to help stabilise their members

and assist them in their integration into British society. Pastor Benneh tells me that he and other pastors who initiate the immigration programmes in their churches believe that the future of their churches depends on stable members who can freely move around without fear and can access the opportunities that society presents to them. In so doing they can financially contribute to building the church and fulfilling the churches' visions.²³¹

The statistics are quite staggering at this point, that out of the total of sixty respondents, forty of whom were interviewed directly and twenty in a focus group, 58 (95%) said they had attended the immigration forum organised by the church. Only two people from the Dominion Centre claimed they didn't attend because they did not have a need relating to immigration. These respondents were 55 and 57 years old. The high turnout experienced in these churches may be a result of the strategy adopted in the organisation of these fora. In Royalhouse Chapel International and the International Central Gospel Church, these programmes were undertaken as a replacement for the sermon. The sermon as part of the liturgy of Pentecostal churches is considered an important part of the entire church service, and therefore the forum should be considered equally important to be given the place of the sermon. In a Sunday worship service at the International Central Gospel Church, the service begins with an opening prayer, where an individual appointed by the pastor leads the congregation through a series of intercessory prayers; then there is praise and worship, which normally involves singing slow tempo songs and high tempo songs to which members dance; it continues with the sermon; and after the sermon, offering and tithes are collected; at the end the benediction is said. It is in the place of the sermon that, on two different occasions when the forum had been organised, the invited immigration expert was given the podium to speak for 30 minutes and another hour for question and answer time.

²³¹ Rev Charles Benneh is Senior Pastor of Royalhouse Chapel (International Missions Centre), South London. A follow up interview conducted on 12 January 2013.

The invited speaker was a Ghanaian Immigration lawyer and was also a pastor of a predominantly Ghanaian church in Morden, South London. Pastor Donkor told me that in 2006 three members of the church were arrested by immigration officials at different locations in London in a space of about two months; as a result this became a crucial issue and he felt the need to educate members about their rights and privileges. The placement of the forum underlines the priority accorded to these issues in the churches.²³²

It is worth noting that the consciousness of the immigration status of congregations is not only the concern of Ghanaian-led churches; due to the increase in the number of migrants that come to Britain each year, several churches which are predominantly white but have become home to some of these migrants have also adapted some of these measures to integrate their members into British society. A survey conducted by Gladys Glaniel from the Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College Dublin, reveals that;

55% of clergy and faith leaders say that they have preached or taught on immigration, diversity or welcoming strangers in the last 12 months. 44% of clergy, pastors, ministers, and faith leaders have never done anything to accommodate minority-ethnic people. 19% said that the languages of minority-ethnic people had been used in services during the last 12 months. (This was more common under the heading 'Other Christians' which may well include migrant-led churches).²³³

This is more an acknowledgement of how pluralistic and diverse congregations in Ireland have become and of the need to hold on to these ethnic minorities in the churches as a means of maintaining high levels of membership than a real effort to integrate them. The Irish situation bears some resemblance to the British situation and the findings of that research

²³² In a follow up telephone interview with Pastor Donkor Senior Pastor Of International Central Gospel Church, East London conducted on 10 January 2013.

²³³ Gladys Glaniel, *"21st Century Faith: Results of the Survey of Clergy, Pastors, Ministers and Faith Leaders,"* Irish School of Ecumenics, Trinity College Dublin. <http://www.ecumenics.ie/wp-content/uploads/Clergy-Survey-Report.pdf>, accessed on 16 January 2013.

resonate with views often expressed in the British-migrant religious discourse. Predominantly white churches that do not do anything special to accommodate ethnic minorities are not necessarily rejecting their membership but – either the church leaders, or the organisations themselves – have not as yet recognised themselves as agents of integration. On the part of the white majority churches one may argue that this adaptation is quite significant to their growth and sustenance over time due to the fact that some of these white majority historical churches are closing down. It will take the ethnic minority and migrants to revitalise these churches. There are people that I met in the course of the fieldwork who were once members of the Catholic Church, the Wesleyan Methodist Church, the Presbyterian Church and the Anglican Church in Ghana who, through friends, have now become members of the Pentecostal churches. These people claim that upon their arrival they visited these churches in their areas of residence but did not like the service. One such respondent, Nana Serwaa, and the ICGC focus group almost unanimously agreed that the historic churches were ‘very cold’. According to them, none of the ‘white’ people that came to the church bothered to speak to them apart from the pastor. She did not feel welcome and therefore decided to attend the International Central Gospel Church where a friend invited her. She claimed she felt at home because the founder of the church, Mensa Otabil’s sermons sits well with her but she would have preferred to go back to the Catholic Church if they were welcoming.²³⁴ On the other hand Kwaw on his part felt embarrassed when after attending a Church of England service in a town in the East Midlands a week after his arrival, all the congregants came to welcome him and asked questions like ‘where do you originally come from? ‘is it very cold here, I guess you have not seen anything like this’? For Kwaw he felt unwelcomed and for many migrants they feel as though the white churches and their leaders do not really fully understand their

²³⁴ Nana Serwaa Boakye is a member of the International Central Gospel church, East London.

story, hence they join the ethnic minority churches because there is a sense of shared identity through the similarities in experiences. The experiences of the participants seem to follow a trend that suffering discrimination deepens their religious convictions as migrants. The religious migrants will always congregate where their needs are recognised.²³⁵

3.3.2. Personal Development, Leadership Training

As part of the churches' strategy to empower their members and also to position members to ensure their capability to finance the church, its programmes and projects, most of these Pentecostal Churches hold meetings, run workshops and training. These are called and given different names but with the same emphasis at the ICGC, DC, FCI and the RCI. The content of these workshops and training differs and is delivered by different speakers in these churches, but some of the content I find very similar. This training was also career oriented, to support those who are already working to improve their personal effectiveness, and for those not working they were challenged to find jobs or create employment for themselves through the use of their gifts and talents.²³⁶ These training initiatives offered by the churches are often more instructional and drawn from the leaders of the churches understanding of the needs of the members to be effective in their lives, in and out of the church. The intention at these training seminars and workshops is to give participants a set of knowledge and skills that can help them to act appropriately in different circumstances they may be presented with.²³⁷ This form of motivation for training people into leadership and encouraging them to act as leaders

²³⁵ Siobhan Mcandrew and David Voas, "Immigration generation, religiosity and civic engagement in Britain," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 37, 1 (2014): 99-119.

²³⁶ Jenny Bimrose and Stephen McNair, "Career Support for Migrants: Transformation or Adaptation," *Journal of Vocational Behavior* 78, 3 (2011): 325-333.

²³⁷ R. M. Stogdill, *Handbook of leadership: A survey of the literature*. (New York: Free Press, 1974).

is a departure from the historical underpinnings of motivation in such contexts, which was normally built on fear but in this case for their own benefit.²³⁸ Because the members are trained not only to serve in these churches alone but everywhere they find themselves it is not a cynical move on the part of church leaders to create a control system, although it is acknowledged that the churches in the end also benefit.²³⁹

There are few speakers from abroad and in Britain who have been invited in their individual roles as pastors and consultants as trainers and speakers to these Personal Development and Leadership Training Seminars and workshops. These pastors and speakers have been regulars on the Christian speaking circuit in most of these churches in Britain, and most of them are regular speakers in Pentecostal churches in Ghana too; their involvement with churches in Britain therefore seems to be a transnational occurrence. The speakers include: John Maxwell, Myles Munroe, Mensa Otabil, Bill Winston, Celia Appiagyei-Collins and Michael Hutton-Wood.²⁴⁰ An observation of their teachings on personal development and leadership leads one to generally conclude that although these speakers are coming from different continents and from different racial backgrounds they share a similar background of economic and social deprivation at some point in their lives. For their audiences who seek comfort, direction and a way of out of their personal socio-economic difficulties, which are accentuated by their

²³⁸ R. L. Daft, *The leadership experience* (Fort Worth, TX: Harcourt College Publishers, 2001).

²³⁹ Ryan, K. D. Ryan, & D. Oestreich, *Driving fear out of the workplace; How to overcome the invisible barriers to quality, productivity, and innovation* (San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass, 1991).

²⁴⁰ Autobiography John Maxwell at <http://www.johnmaxwell.com/about/meet-john/>, accessed on 14 February 2013; Autobiographical information of Myles Munroe can be found at https://mylesmunroeinternational.com/?page_id=107, accessed on 14 February 2013; A brief biography of Mensa Otabil can be found on the website of one of the branches of ICGC in Virginia USA found at <http://www.icgcva.org/overseer.asp>, accessed on 14 February 2013.; Autobiography of Bill Winston <http://www.billwinston.org/bwinston/>, accessed 15 February 2013.; Biographic data on Celia Appiagyei-Collins on her organisation's website at <http://www.rehobothfoundation.com>, accessed on 15 February 2013; biography of Bishop Michael Hutton-Wood is found on the House of Judah's website at <http://www.houseofjudah.org.uk/Pages/who-we-are.html>, accessed on 15 February 2013;

current migrant status, these speakers and what they have to teach them are considered very relevant.

3.3.2.1 The Churches, the Speakers and the Content of Training

The speakers profiled above are not the only speakers who regularly speak in these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches but these are the ones well known and noted for speaking on personal development and leadership. It is worth noting that apart from Celia Appiagyei-Collins and Michael Hutton-Wood who are migrants from Ghana and have a settled immigration status in Britain, Mensa Otabil is a Ghanaian and resident in Accra. It seems obvious that both Celia and Michael are well aware and familiar with the struggles of the migrant and therefore could relate to their predominantly migrant audiences in these churches. Myles Munroe was from the Bahamas whilst Bill Winston and John Maxwell are from the United States. All speakers with the exception of Michael Hutton-Wood have spoken in Dominion Centre. This is because the Dominion Centre has a strong inclination towards the development of leaders. The omission of Michael Hutton-Wood from the list of speakers at the Dominion Centre can only be a matter of time. Out of about forty different titles of sermons displayed for sale at the Dominion Centre Bookshop preached by the senior pastor, Ohene-Apraku, about three-quarters are on personal development and leadership related issues such as ‘Appreciate Yourself’; ‘Develop Your Social Life’; and ‘Accepting who you are’.²⁴¹ Michael Hutton-Wood and Celia Appiagyei-Collins have all spoken at the International Central Gospel Church and at the Royalhouse Chapel International. Freedom

²⁴¹ Sermons displayed in the bookshop of the Dominion Centre with product identification SKU0011, SKU0012, and SKU0013 as part of a series preached by Sam Ohene-Apraku in July 2012. The bookshop attendant told me there are digital copies sold on their churches website; www.dominioncentre.org, visit to bookstore on 21 November 2012.

Centre International have only hosted Celia Appiagyei-Collins but have been part of all conferences organised by the Dominion Centre with Ofosuware as Senior Pastor attending some of these conferences organised by the Dominion Centre. Not only is this case with Freedom Centre International because of the affiliation to Dominion Centre, but also the pastors of these churches are in a network and receive formal invitations for their members to attend such conferences in the other churches.²⁴² A video recording of one of the conferences from 2009 with Mensa Otabil as a speaker showed a mentioning of the presence of these pastors was acknowledged and received with a shout and an ovation, as they stood to be acknowledged by the audience.²⁴³ It is also worth noting that the pastors of these churches acknowledge the similarities and commonalities their churches share and quite often preach in others' churches, with the exception of Ohene-Apraku who has never preached in Royalhouse Chapel or invited its pastor to preach in their church.

Another observation was that it seems as though the relationships of the pastors were dependent on the size of their churches. For instance Edwin Donkor of International Central Gospel Church, Ohene-Apraku of Dominion and Charles Benneh of Royalhouse Chapel International are also friends with Edwin Donkor and Ofosuware of the Freedom Centre International, and Charles Benneh considers Donkor and Ofosuware as people he looks up to. In the end these churches operate to some extent as learning organisations where a pattern of thinking is nurtured, collective aspiration is set free, and people are given the necessary tools to achieve their clearly articulated organisational vision, nurturing people who can move from

²⁴² In an interview with Rev Ohene-Apraku, he stated that he had often invited most churches in London and notably the pastors of International Central Gospel Church, Freedom Centre International and Royalhouse Chapel International. Interview conducted on 21 November 2012.

²⁴³ A video of one of the evening sessions at the Dominion Summit 2009. Dr Mensa Otabil preached on the Making of the King an illustrative sermon based on the biblical narrative of King David's rise to prominence and leadership. Friday night session 2.

the bottom of social class as migrants to significance in their immediate community and beyond.²⁴⁴

Regarding the speakers, there are a few observations that one can make about what has made them regulars in these churches and their affiliates in London. All of these speakers share a bond that makes them relevant to their audience and those pastors keep bringing them over to speak. They share a similar background of deprivation and poverty earlier on in their lives. Mensa Otabil once made a remark at a conference where he spoke alongside Myles Munroe that as he sat down with him talking about how they began life, they discovered they had a similar background and experiences although they come from different continents.²⁴⁵ And for many of these migrant members of the churches they could identify themselves with the struggles of the speakers. Many of them have migrated because they dared to relocate, experiencing with it all the attendant challenges and some regrettable experiences. Some even risked their lives to come to Britain for a new life traveling through deserts, and some hidden in trucks; others even sell family properties to fund their journey. Similar stories from these speakers who have suffered deprivation or have had to go through difficulties in their childhood, resonate with the migrant's own situation and mean that they take the information given seriously, because they look at the lives that these men have now and they tell themselves they can make it too. It seems to bring them a lot of encouragement and strengthen their hopes of a better future, irrespective of their age.

Again the style of speaking and illustrations used shows an eagerness on their part to share their stories and their passion to let others know how they used to be where these migrants are today and therefore they too can become better people with a better standard of living. These

²⁴⁴ Peter Senge, *The fifth discipline* (New York: Doubleday, 1990).

²⁴⁵ A remark by Mensa Otabil on 28 October 2006 during a morning session speaking alongside Myles Munroe, recorded on the Sermon title: Leadership Traits'.

speakers sometimes make mention of assets they acquired or how they now live to inspire people. At the 2006 Dominion Summit, Myles Munroe – before he encouraged people to give to pay for the organisation of the conference – stated that he came to Britain and to that conference to speak because of his passion to help people like those in the audience to become successful people. He stated that if he had flown to London in his own private jet that would have cost him twenty thousand pounds but he travelled on a commercial plane so as not to burden the conference host.²⁴⁶ However this was certainly not economy class but first class which most of their audience in their churches cannot afford. The buying of private aeroplanes has become a power symbol to ‘separate the men from the boys’, in other words to differentiate between those pastors who are successful and those who are not, at least from their perspective. One would have thought that he could have made a contribution himself to offset the cost of hosting the conference, rather than asking these same migrants who are looking for ways of succeeding in their lives’ endeavours to fund the conference. This seems to be a bit contradictory, but one thing that is common with such encouragement to give is that people are made to understand that that’s the way to prosper and to make money. In this sense the pain and the pressure to give is minimised and people give with the expectation that they will also be blessed because the speakers themselves are testimonies of the principles they espouse.

Further, the speakers are characteristically well dressed. They normally put on smart suits except in the case of Mensa Otabil, who wears a smart African print and tailored clothing. This smart dressing can be considered to have a psychological effect on the audience in that it proves the speaker’s level of prosperity and success in their field of endeavours, and therefore their audience can aspire to be like them. It is used to make the statement ‘I used to be down

²⁴⁶ Myles Munroe Speaking on ‘Seven Principles of Servant Leadership’ on 27 October 2006. He makes an appeal for money to fund the conference.

there like you but now look at me, I'm up there'. Mensa Otabil once remarked during the 2009 Dominion Summit whilst preaching a sermon titled 'Growing your capacity', that he was for the first time speaking in a predominantly white church, with the pastor originally from Trinidad and Tobago, in the United States. He recounted that after he was introduced he mounted the stage with his flowing African print called 'boubou'. According to him, everyone looked at him with bewilderment and it was as though they were asking in their minds 'what is this bushman with this strange clothing doing with a computer? However when he had finished speaking the members came to him to congratulate him for an excellent sermon and he was invited again at a later date'.²⁴⁷ Appearance, and the kind of apparel Pentecostal preachers wear, is very important to them. The reason for this is that they intend to inspire their audience about how God can prosper them to raise them up from their misery. There is nothing more appealing to a struggling migrant who has lost all hope of their initial vision of travelling to Britain, than assuring the person in word and in a practical demonstration of what you wear, drive and live. This feature also enforces the 'big man rule' and mentality where these few speakers enjoy the authority and legitimacy for what they do because of the social gap between the speakers and the audience.²⁴⁸ It is possible that this largely contributes to the reason why these speakers are brought in year after year by these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches. For the migrants the hope of where they want to be is epitomised in the stories of and lives these speakers live and they consider them their heroes. This gives the migrant some form of stability, as some of my respondents recounted times when they wanted to just pack their baggage and go back home. Others even told me they came to a point where they wanted to go back to their countries of origin but couldn't afford

²⁴⁷ Mensa Otabil Speaking on 'Growing Your capacity' on 28 October 2009, at the Dominion Centre's Dominion Summit 2009.

²⁴⁸ John F Mccauley, "Africa's new big man rule? Pentecostalism and patronage in Ghana," *African Affairs* 112, no. 446 (2013): 1-21.

it. Even when the British government was offering assistance to those illegal migrants who wanted to leave the country on their own accord on the Assisted Voluntary Return (AVR) scheme established in 1999, they felt too embarrassed to go forward to the authorities.²⁴⁹ To that end some of these conferences provide them with the encouragement to stay on and see the positive side of their struggles until such a time that they believe God blesses them in the land. According to the migrants, at the end of the day if God picks people from nowhere and blesses them then why not them?

Another important observation about these speakers is that they reference their source of success to their relationship with God, expressed in the love of God for them, their commitment to apply principles in God's word, which is often how they describe the scriptures, and hope of a better future based on the prophetic declarations in the scriptures. So in doing that not only are they inspiring their audience through their own stories of success, which they demonstrate in what they wear, drive or where they live, but also with the promises of God in the scriptures. The result of this is that these migrant members want to stay in their churches and also maintain their faith in the God of prosperity they are presented, to see through their own 'breakthrough', a term used by most of these Ghanaian Pentecostals to signify success. In the end the churches as organisations also benefit because it helps them to maintain a stable membership that results in stable finances for them too. At the same time the churches are able to see the results the members derive from adopting the measures, suggestions and even principles taught by these speakers.

²⁴⁹ Richard Black, Khalid Koser and Karen Munk, with Gaby Atfield, Lisa D'Onofrio, and Richmond Tiemoko, "Understanding Voluntary Return," Sussex Centre for Migration Research, Online Report 50/04, <http://webarchive.nationalarchives.gov.uk/20110220105210/rds.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds/pdfs04/rdsolr5004.pdf>, accessed on 14 February 2013.

Benefits accrue in some way to all parties: the speakers, the churches and the members. For the speakers there is an affirmation of their mission and personal satisfaction that they have something to offer that others want. Why would all the speakers apart from Celia Appiagyei-Collins have an honorary doctorate, if not for personal satisfaction and the feeling of acknowledgement from their audiences? There is no suggestion of anything wrong in obtaining the honorary doctorates, as it's the choice of the recipients to accept it or not, but it can be confirmed that most of the awarding is from unaccredited institutions from the United States. Often there is a practice of self-awarding where speakers are awarded honorary doctorates by 'universities' that they have founded or are affiliated with. An example of one such university is Friends International Christian University (FCIU) from Florida, USA. These doctorates however have given the speakers access to places they would otherwise have been turned away from and also raised their reputation. A Ghanaian pastor made the argument that those doctorates are used to build churches and when God has blessed the leader with enough works, they revert back to the title of pastor, because by that time they have a fruitful ministry to show for it. According to him the title aided the ministry of leaders such as Mensa Otabil, and Agyin Asare of the Word Miracle Church International in Ghana.²⁵⁰ Although this cannot be verified and those who have these honorary doctorates would refute such claims, onlookers and analysts could deem this to be the case. However, not everyone has that kind of status, with large churches and international recognition. It may be the case that a combination of factors including the honorary doctorate degrees, the speakers' clothing, their means of transportation and their place of residence, which improve their reputation and gives them respect, making audiences more receptive to their message and teachings.

²⁵⁰ An opinion of a Ghanaian Pentecostal pastor, Anaman who lives in Britain, on why there is a craze for honorary doctorates in recent times among Pentecostal pastors in Ghana.

An important issue in the organisation of these leadership and personal development events is the information that members receive. The leadership and personal development initiatives take the form of conferences, workshops, retreats, and training sessions. In a training session at the International Central Gospel Church, Celia spoke on ‘Discovering your Mission in life’. She gave out handouts of the outline she wanted to teach with scriptural backing to the issues she raised at the session. The meeting was held on a Saturday and lasted for 2 hours, with the last hour of the session reserved for questions and answers. At the session Celia stressed the importance of having a mission in life because God never did anything without a purpose. She quoted a scripture from Ecclesiastes 3:1; ‘To everything there is a season, a time for every purpose under heaven’.²⁵¹ Elaborating on the fact that God never made anything simply for the sake of making it, she said that everyone has an assignment and this assignment makes an individual unique and very important in the eyes of God.²⁵² This is a popular scripture often taken by these speakers as the starting point for anything they decide to teach. Bill Winston, Mensa Otabil, Michael Hutton Wood and John Maxwell have always made this the starting point of their teachings in their conferences in these churches.²⁵³ Thus it has become the foundation upon which most of the principles that are taught by these speakers are based. Rev Apraku mentioned that the father of this line of thought and principle is Myles Munroe, who has written a lot of books on this subject. These titles include, amongst others: *In Pursuit of Purpose*; *Understanding Your Potential*; *The Power of Vision*; and *The Spirit of Leadership*.²⁵⁴

²⁵¹ A scripture quotation from the New King James Version of the Holy Bible.

²⁵² The Pastor of ICGC unfortunately did not have a copy of the outline used in the session but run me through the session, which was held on 21 October 2011. A supplementary interview with Rev Edwin Donkor on 16 September 2012.

²⁵³ From sermons preached at the Dominion Summit at the Dominion Centre, November 2009.

²⁵⁴ A supplementary interview with Rev Sam Ohene Apraku conducted on 12 December 2012.

These popular Pentecostal writings have the intention to inspire the reader to change course in their personal lives to maximize their opportunities for personal achievement. Fundamentally they stress the fact that everyone can be someone very important in life if they discover their place in the plans of God.²⁵⁵ The books are not academic material but just use the literal interpretation of the scriptures to speak to a particular situation in people's lives. The pastors of these churches rely heavily on some of these materials. Teachings such as this can have a phenomenal impact on the lives of migrants who may be disillusioned with life in Britain and are seeking ways to make their lives count, on the backdrop of their disappointments and unforeseen struggles upon arrival in Britain. The teaching and information based on scripture also helps the migrants to sustain their hope of a better future and ameliorate the pain of their struggles. Some of these members might have heard about such teachings of Myles Munroe from their country of origin before their arrival and their pastor's connection with these foreign preachers seem to ground them in these churches because they revere these foreign preachers.²⁵⁶ So the message of purpose that becomes the starting point for any discourse of personal development and leadership has a transnational appeal. Although the issues of context may differ with illustrations and anecdotes given, fundamentally the principles remain the same and have the same appeal in the country of origin as in the host country, because somehow people with similar stories and struggles surround them.

Similarly, some of the teachings and books of John Maxwell has become an instruction manual for some leadership development training workshops organised by the churches. At the Royalhouse Chapel International, the pastor openly espouses teachings based on Maxwell's books. A recording was obtained from their bookstand of a teaching entitled

²⁵⁵ Myles Munroe, *In Pursuit of Purpose*, (Shippensburg: Destiny Image Publishers, 1992), 1-149.

²⁵⁶ A cassette tape-recording of Myles Munroe; "Understanding the Power of Purpose," part 1 and 2, Altar Tapes, 1992. Altar is the audio-visual and print department of the International Central Gospel Church, at the Baden Powell Memorial Hall, in Accra, Ghana.

'Being a magnet for people'.²⁵⁷ This was purely based on the book written by John Maxwell with the title *Becoming a Person of Influence*.²⁵⁸ A leaders' training session was also organised by the International Central Gospel Church, at which Michael Hutton Wood was a speaker. He spoke to the title 'Your Road Map to Success as a Leader', and John Maxwell based his material heavily on the book: *Road Map to Success*. In fact most materials used by Hutton Wood in his 'Leaders Factory' are books and training manuals obtained from John Maxwell's company. Information from these books is sometimes pieced together and put in an outline form and given to attendees as part of leadership training manuals. The subject of leadership development resonates very well with the migrants whose sense of worth and pathway to becoming significant is impaired by their struggles and pain. Receiving the recognition that they have something to offer to humanity, and being given the opportunity to be taught about leadership, is uplifting to them. The effect of this is that the churches build an army of optimists who dare to put their history and circumstances aside to pursue higher objectives beyond their present circumstances.

The advantage to the churches is that when the church presents a project to be accomplished they see it as a way of stretching beyond their limitations to accomplish something that will epitomise their collective efforts and enhance their image as migrants. Thus on the strength of that collective accomplishment they make a statement that they have the capacity to make a contribution to British society. This in itself is a psychological boost to step out in pursuit of their own dreams, which in some ways becomes the starting point for integrating into wider British Society. In an interview, Shadrach Ofosuware, whilst enumerating their successes makes a comment about the advantage that Freedom Centre International is accruing at

²⁵⁷ A CD recording of a training session titled, "Being a magnet for people," preached by the senior pastor of Royalhouse Chapel International on 22 May 2012. This meeting was also to develop the leadership abilities of voluntary workers to sustain the growth of the churches after a conference to take place on 1-3 June 2012.

²⁵⁸ John Maxwell, *Becoming a Person of Influence*. (Nashville: Thomas Nelson Publishers 1997).

present and states that their new church building facility has made members believe they can also accomplish something important with their lives.²⁵⁹ To these migrants the process of integrating begins with proving that one has something to offer that is unique and that leads to acceptance by the populace, and enabling them to access the opportunities that are available for everyone. This position of the migrants provides evidence to suggest that the socio-economic reasons underlying most of the migration theories discussed in chapter two are valid as the claims of religious reasons for migration. Besides the religious empowerment, migrants seek economic empowerment too.

3.3.3 Financial Empowerment and Business Workshop

One of the main challenges for the migrant is getting access to a regular and substantial source of income. Money is a major reason why most people migrate to Britain. Migrants come to Britain in search of a better life for themselves and their families.²⁶⁰ In response to these challenges they tend to look for housing in areas where they can afford it, in order to save and also take care of family members in their countries of origin. The search for affordable housing brings about a concentration of these people in particular areas of the town or cities where they dwell. Besides this challenge and many others that migrants face, the churches where they worship are also affected by the lack of access to money. Churches are concerned about the financial need of their members, not only because of the burden of supporting those affected, but also because of these individuals' limited ability to respond to calls for monetary contributions for the running of the churches and projects the churches

²⁵⁹ A second interview with Shadrach Ofosuware on the issue of personal development and leadership training in the church conducted on 09 January 2013.

²⁶⁰ Takyiwaa Manuh, "'Efie' or the meanings of home among female and male Ghanaian migrants in Toronto, Canada and returned migrants to Ghana," 140 - 159.

embark upon. There are three main ways through which financial empowerment and business start-ups are approached. The first is the pastors of the churches themselves teaching, and the second is inviting other guest pastors and Christian experts who are considered qualified to teach, using biblical narratives to explain the principles and information they give to their audiences. The third is the use of existing companies who have the expertise to inform, train and assist members to take pragmatic steps to actualise what the two earlier approaches have established. These approaches are done in succession over a period of time with natural progression. The process in the churches is that after the first two approaches have been exhausted the third is done almost immediately before members lose the sense of urgency to act.

3.2.3.1 Pastors Teaching on the ‘Tithe’

In the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches where ‘tithing is taught as a biblical principle for every Christian, the jobs people do and consequently the income of the members has a direct correlation to the incomes of the churches²⁶¹. Having heard exhortations on tithing and offering, most of the time before tithes or offerings are taken, individuals are told that paying a tenth of their incomes to God through the churches will invite God to intervene in their financial matters. In most of these churches a scripture that is often quoted is Malachi 3:8-10;

Will a man rob God? Yet you have robbed Me! But you say, ‘In what way have we robbed You?’ In tithes and offerings. You are cursed with a curse, For you have robbed Me, Even this whole nation. Bring all the tithes into the storehouse, that there may be food in My house, And try Me now in this, Says the Lord of hosts, If I will not open for you the

²⁶¹ Tithe is a principle drawn from the Old Testament Biblical narrative Malachi 3:1-10 where a tenth of once produce is presented to priests in the temple in exchange for God’s promised blessings. This is a scripture most Pentecostals base the act of collecting tithes from their members.

windows of heaven And pour out for you such blessing That there will not be room enough to receive it.

The churches are dependent on the command of tithing of which they normally quote from the scriptures. In contemporary Judaism tithing is of little significance although there is ample evidence that members of the early church gave from their means to support the church and the needy.²⁶² Churches then and churches in the present day predominantly depend on the giving of their members to finance their audacious projects and run the churches' activities. It seems that regardless of the arguments for or against tithing, it has become the main source of finance for most Pentecostal churches, without which most churches would struggle financially. Individuals' giving in the churches is considered a participation in the sacred.²⁶³ Inasmuch as the decision should be left to the individual's own level of commitment, the leaders of these churches seek ways to make it more of a compulsory element of the worship than an act that reflects the individual's own understanding of the espoused biblical principles and commitment to the sacred. The churches have taken an approach to ensure that their sources of income are protected at the same time as they claim to empower their members to have a better life through the act of tithing. Various methods have been used to raise money to finance the local church which include Jewish tithing as discussed above from the Old Testament, as well as more complex methods by today's Pentecostal churches.²⁶⁴ Thus the church has an unwavering interest in members' financial dealings, as for most of the church leaders, the life of the church is heavily intertwined with the lives of the members that attend. Inasmuch as the churches visited exhibited a great deal of organisation in all respects, there is

²⁶² William H. Leach, "Financing the Local Church," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 332, (1960): 70-79.

²⁶³ Peter Munday, Hilary Davidson, Patricia Snell Herzog, "Making Money Sacred: How Two Church Cultures Translate Mundane Money into Distinct Sacrilised Frames of Giving," *Sociology of Religion* 72, 3 (2011): 303 – 326.

²⁶⁴ Leach, "Financing the Local Church," 70-79.

also the sense that the state of the church at any time reflects the state of the members' lives in spiritual and material terms.²⁶⁵ In Royalhouse Chapel and Freedom Centre International, on two different occasions, elders in the church made statements to this effect.²⁶⁶ When asked the question on how the churches intend to finance the projects they have stated as part of their vision, the response was unanimous that the members of the church would finance the projects. They claimed that the church had in the past depended on the benevolence of the members to finance other projects and therefore could afford these audacious building acquisitions.²⁶⁷ According to them, even when they have to fall on financial institutions to finance the projects, the members foot the bill eventually. To ensure that the members are in a position to do this, they initiate various programmes to empower their members to have a good financial standing.

The churches do not stop at training their members on personal development and leadership but go a step further to provide training in finance and business start-ups to mitigate the problem of the migrants' inability to find desirable jobs. Although it may seem somehow an egotistical move on the part of the churches to financially empower members from whom they will eventually benefit, the individual has the opportunity to harness their abilities and talents for financial gain. Although this in itself is not wrong, it may be viewed by those who look at issues through a political lens as a way to gain influence in the community, in spite of the clear message of the churches and the invited trainers and speakers which focuses on the migrant member.

²⁶⁵ Leach, "Financing the Local Church," 72.

²⁶⁶ Elder Kwadwo Amposah of the Royalhouse Chapel International and Minister Kwaakye in exhorting members to give during 'Offering Times' made the statements to the effect that the future success of the church is strongly linked with the destiny of the church.

²⁶⁷ An interview with Rev Benneh and Pastor Ofosuware of Royalhouse Chapel and Freedom Centre International conducted on 18 September 2012.

3.3.3.2 Guest Speakers' Teachings/ Expert Advice

The churches' financial empowerment and business start-ups initiatives have been organised in different ways. There have been conferences with the emphasis on wealth creation, workshops and training sessions as ways of empowering the members of the churches. The church and religious groups as a whole are known to influence community and individual well being through various strategic pathways which include some of the initiatives of the church mentioned in the previous sections of the chapter.²⁶⁸ In one of such event, Mensa Otabil spoke at a 3 day conference on wealth creation at Freedom Centre International; his sermon was entitled 'Borrowed Vessels'. The scripture for his teaching was 2 Kings 4:1-7. The main thrust of the sermon was that anything an individual possesses, be it a gift, a talent, an ability as simple as cooking, talking, arguing or anything that is used for your domestic advantage or profit can be commercialised and turned into a source of living. He charged his audience to look beyond being employed to being industrious and entrepreneurial. Whilst he spoke he made references to the fact that the Ghanaians for instance have not standardised cooking their traditional meals; if this were done, African restaurants could be opened and Ghanaian food could even be exported to other parts of the world. To prove the possibility of this he cited as an example the way in which people of all colours and races go to Chinese restaurants to patronise Chinese foods. Some of the migrants see themselves as limited by their circumstances either in terms of education or resident permits, and – linking to the title of the talk – he stated that even under such circumstances you can borrow 'vessels', including expertise, knowledge, wisdom, money and others things, from those who have what you need

²⁶⁸ Kenneth I. Maton and Elizabeth A. Wells, "Religion as a Community Resource for Well-Being: Prevention, Healing, and Empowerment Pathways," *Journal of Social Issues* 51, no. 2 (1995): 177-193.

in order to accomplish your objectives or fulfil a dream.²⁶⁹ The reason this perspective of Mensa Otabil is important is because later training and conferences organised in these churches have followed similar lines of challenging these migrant members to make use of their abilities and develop their own businesses. A remark by one pastor was that if you have your own business you manage your own time and can make room to be present at church for services and other events organised by the church.²⁷⁰

As part of the conference style of informing and training the members, Freedom Centre International brought an expert from the HSBC bank in an unofficial role to talk on how to benefit from the financial services that banks provide and also dealt with issues of mortgages and how to buy your first property in Britain.²⁷¹ A range of issues was dealt with at the conference including how to use a credit card for your benefit without getting into debt. The Dominion Centre ran a similar conference and also had an expert in financial products offered by the banks. In both cases at the end of the conferences, members were given opportunity to make a personal appointment to seek the services of these experts. The benefits to the church apart from what has previously been discussed is that the churches do not have to pay these experts to be present because they get business at the end of the sessions, whilst at the same time individuals receive the necessary assistance for investments.²⁷² In the end these seminars and workshops are supposed to empower the migrant member for the acquisition of wealth, which has become an attraction to many migrants who join the churches.²⁷³

²⁶⁹ "Borrow Vessels," a sermon preached by Mensa Otabil at South London Temple now known as Freedom Centre International, at Peckham Rye, London. 2003.

²⁷⁰ Pastor Edwin Donkor, at an announcement that a team from First Capital Plus was coming over to inform members of investment opportunities in Ghana, July 2012.

²⁷¹ Information given by Pastor Nsokie an associate pastor at the Freedom Centre international. Interview conducted as part of a second run of interviews on the 9 January 2013.

²⁷² An interview with Queenie, an administrative staff at the Dominion Centre. An interview conducted on 21 November 2012.

²⁷³ Charlotte Spinks, "Panacea or Pankiller?: The impact of Pentecostal Christianity on women in Africa Critical

At the International Central Gospel Church, 2010 was a significant year in terms of the wealth creation theme: they held two major events in the space of six months. The first was an investment forum for the whole church to educate members of the church about the investment opportunities in Ghana. At this event, personnel from First Capital Plus in Accra, Ghana were invited to come over to speak to the members. The owner and CEO of the Bank at the time, Mr Ato Essien was who is also a member of the International Central Gospel Church in Ghana was in attendance. After the general presentation of the investment climate in Ghana, another person took over to talk about the investment opportunities with the bank that they were representing. After all the questions and answers session, one of the assistant pastors was appointed as their representative for the rest of the week for people to sign up with him. Forms for the various products offered by the bank were left with him, and according to the pastor, about 100 people signed up to various products and an undisclosed substantial amount of money, collected in cash, was transferred to Ghana for the investment. This vested interest in an investment in the country of origin would further establish and strengthen the transnational ties of members to the place of origin. An enquiry about how these monies are being managed on behalf of the investors shows that there have been substantial gains where some members have been offered loans to buy landed properties such as plots of lands for building and buildings in Ghana.²⁷⁴

The second conference held at the International Central Gospel Church was a property investment conference led by Felix Sermorvor the owner of a company from Ghana known as Royal Valley Estates Limited. This conference was subsequently repeated at the Royalhouse Chapel International and at another Ghanaian-led church known as the Praise Harvest

Half,” *Annual Journal of Women for Women International* 1, 1 (2003): 20–25.

²⁷⁴ An interview with an associate pastor of International Central Gospel Church, Pastor Aminatey. Conducted as part of second round of interviews on 26 November 2012.

Community Chapel, because the pastor introduced Felix to the pastors of the other churches. Felix is a member of the International Central Gospel Church in Accra, Ghana. The main aim of this conference was to introduce the members to the real estate investment opportunities and to some of the products on offer from the Royal Valley Estates Limited.²⁷⁵ The main highlight of the informative conference was the introduction of mortgage financing in Ghana by Home Finance Company (HFC), the first Bank in Ghana to provide specialised mortgage services.²⁷⁶ A scheme was set up as a result of this conference to help members sign up to buy houses in Ghana. The company subsequently picked a representative from the church to coordinate the interests of members and its own interests after the conference.

The encouragement to have members invest in Ghana reveals the transnational status of the individuals and the churches themselves, since the churches organised these investment workshops to deepen the ties these individuals may already have with their places of origin. Should these investments prove worthwhile then there is a possibility they could eventually draw these members to go back and settle in their land of origin and even in some instances where landed properties are built or bought for letting, an income can be generated from country of origin, which some of these migrants could rely on. The reason there is the potential for improving one's financial stability in Britain through letting property in Ghana is that most of the homes let in very good neighbourhoods in the capital are paid for in US dollars (USD).²⁷⁷ Therefore the investor and their dependents (some of who may have never

²⁷⁵ HCF has been a pioneer in the development and the facilitation of the mortgage industry in Ghana. They are considered the number one mortgage provider. Further information can be found at <http://www.hfcbank.com.gh>, accessed on 17 February 2013.

²⁷⁶ Royal Valley Estates Limited is part of the Royal Estates Group that provides affordable housing in estates for clients. Further information can be found at <http://www.royalestatesgroup.com>, accessed on 17 February 2013.

²⁷⁷ Further information on houses being let in very good neighbourhoods in Accra. All prices are quoted in US Dollars (USD), http://www.ghanafind.com/search_r-textfield1-houses-category-houses%20for%20rent.html. Also see additional information on the prices of houses and letting at

visited Ghana) would benefit from transnational financial gains. Some of these funds could be accumulated over time as a down payment for a mortgage in their host country.

3.3.3.3 Workshops by ‘Secular’ Training Companies

Besides the conference style of training and motivating people to start their own business, a workshop style of training is also organised using other established companies to accomplish these purposes. This is probably because they present a pragmatic approach to empowerment and have personnel with diverse expertise to advise and guide the members of the churches.

3.3.3.3.1 Nexgen Initiatives Limited

A reputable and popular company among black majority churches in London is Nexgen Initiatives Limited. Many Ghanaian and Nigerian-led churches, particularly in London, have depended on the company for informing and training people in the churches in business start-ups. The company also targets churches, informing them of possible regeneration opportunities within the communities and about how to access funding to embark on regeneration. They say this of themselves on their website:

... We aim to stimulate new, entrepreneurial ways to tackle social problems more effectively and more efficiently through connecting people in various communities, bringing together those from voluntary and not-for-profit organisations, especially those who have a background of being from disadvantaged communities, with the public and private sectors. This enables the sharing of ideas and practical experience, and

http://www.modernghana.com/GhanaHome/estates/show_estate.asp?cat_id=189&cat_which=4&sub_cat_id=195&item_id=5844&menu_id=37, accessed on 18 February 2013.

encourages innovation.²⁷⁸

This company's managing director is a Nigerian known as Shola Lana. She states that her passion is to see people of African descent, and individuals and churches, as a whole get recognition by their communities as major players in development and not as scroungers, as migrants are depicted in some sections of the media. She says that the only way by which the majority in the host country will see the minority as important is when they make a contribution to society through finding ways of solving some of the problems within the various localities where the individuals reside and churches are located.²⁷⁹ The managing director, who in the interview demonstrated very good inter-personal skills, is a friend of many of these pastors and also tries to meet pastors through other pastors she knows. She then convinces them of the benefits to connecting with their communities by empowering their members for the regeneration of their communities. By this strategy of reaching out, Nexgen has been able to extend their work from their base in London to churches, organisations and individuals in Leeds, Leicester, Nottingham, Birmingham, Wolverhampton, Manchester, Cardiff, Southampton, Liverpool, Plymouth and Newcastle.²⁸⁰ The relationships established with these pastors means that the company organises the training for as many of the churches in that particular city as would attend.

Although Nexgen have not been invited to speak exclusively in the churches used as case studies in this research, a section of their members have attended their training programmes, having been encouraged by their pastors to attend. One such workshop was organised in collaboration with PMP and Helping Hands, another charity in London, which trains people

²⁷⁸ Background, mission and vision statements, Aims and Objectives of the Nexgen Initiatives found at <http://www.nexgenlimited.org/aboutus.html>, accessed on 20 February 2013.

²⁷⁹ An interview with Shola Lana, on the role of Nexgen Initiatives in assisting churches in empowering their members, conducted on 19 January 2013.

²⁸⁰ Information found on the Nexgen website at www.nexgen.com, accessed on 21 January 2013.

in Prince 2 Project Management (Introductory Level and Foundation), without cost to the attendees. For this workshop, PMP provided the professional teaching, Helping Hands organized the catering, and Nexgen was responsible for the invitations distributed, and for general oversight. At the end of the 3 day workshop those who wanted to open their own businesses in order to work as contractors were given further information and assisted in completing company registration forms. Nexgen received lottery funding for this purpose. Prince 2 was chosen because apparently there had been a shortage of Project managers and more were needed in anticipation of London being awarded the opportunity to host the 2012 Olympics. She stated that some of the participants in the workshop subsequently got jobs in junior roles and those who paid to go beyond the foundation stage are now working for various companies across London.²⁸¹

Nexgen also held other workshops for the churches, informing them about where money is available from the government and from donors for community projects, and how to access these funds. The workshops normally cover the whole process from giving information on the need for the churches to engage their communities, through to discussing the difficulties to expect, funding opportunities, how to complete the funding forms and actually being assisted by the personnel of the Nexgen to complete the forms. Enumerating some of the achievements of the company, Shola stated they have provided at least 70 groups with support in fundraising and policy development, as well as linking them with other networks, and giving advice on publicity and promotion. She adds that each of these groups brings about 10 to 15 participants on the average to these workshops, and that Nexgen's services may have been extended to over 800 people with the churches they have involved in their workshops.²⁸²

²⁸¹ Shola Lana, interview conducted on 19 January 2013. She mentioned that the Leyton Orient Football club also gave their conference room at a subsidized rate to host the workshop.

²⁸² Shola Lana Interview conducted on 19 January 2013.

According to her they have received positive feedback from most of the groups and individuals on the support they have given.

Getting involved in community development issues is seen by Nexgen, the International Central Gospel Church, Royalhouse Chapel International, Dominion Centre, and Freedom Centre International as a way of integrating into British society because by doing so they are joining the debate and thus making their voices heard and getting their contributions noted. This may include identifying areas of concern to governments, such as assisting marginalized groups and regenerating communities, whether it is organizing after school clubs, setting up social enterprises to train people to attain employability skills, helping the aged in society through home visitation and care, or even assisting the homeless with food and shelter. These projects are not only for ethnic minorities, although some of the initiatives are targeted to the ethnic minorities who are normally categorised as the marginalised. Nevertheless, in undertaking them, the whole community gets involved and a bond is built through mutual respect and learning from one another.

3.3.3.3.2 Stewardship Services (UKET) Limited

This is a company established in 1906 in England. It has a predominantly white management team and facilitators but with the rise of black majority churches and their efforts to integrate into British society Stewardship's services have become useful to these churches. The company claims they have a core evangelical Christian ethos upon which all their values are based.²⁸³ They state their values by which they seek to conduct and measure themselves as

²⁸³ Information obtained from an informal discussion with one of the resources persons from Stewardship at Hemel Hempstead.

generosity, relationship, integrity, quality and improvement. They describe their mission as being to release Christians to live and give generously to resource God's Kingdom and also to equip the Church to develop excellence in legal and financial governance. Though the company has gone through different phases over the years the main thrust of dealings has been with churches rather than individuals.²⁸⁴

Stewardship organises information dissemination and training events and invites churches to take part in these training programmes. In one of their informational events at a conference centre in Hemel Hempstead, the focus was to educate the churches on new regulations for charities regarding the responsibilities of a charity trustee and the new guidelines for trustees who receive remuneration for their services. The second part of the informational seminar style event was on how to develop a community development project and how to get the necessary funding to execute it. A representative of the Dominion Centre and the senior pastor of the International Central Gospel Church attended.²⁸⁵ Similarly to other events, Stewardship enumerated their range of services that included making gift aid claims on behalf of interested churches. There were other churches present that had been working together with the company for quite some time and gave testimonials of the importance of the company's work in their church recently. At the end of the seminar participating churches were encouraged to provide details for a mailing list, which would send alerts to churches on important legislations, and general information that affects them.²⁸⁶

Aside the general informational seminars and workshop the company organizes, there are specific seminars organised sometimes to clarify statutory regulations that affect churches.

²⁸⁴ Information on the work of Stewardship with churches, <http://www.stewardship.org.uk/money/about-us/about-stewardship>, accessed on 21 February 2013.

²⁸⁵ I met these pastors at the training session organized by Stewardship.

²⁸⁶ A seminar organized by Stewardship for churches, which the researcher attended as an invited participant at Hemel Hempstead, in January 2012.

One such seminar was organised for churches to clarify changes to the gift aid applications and claims.²⁸⁷ At the seminar the participating churches were given the information on the new gift aid percentage calculations and how it needed to be done to get the most out of the claims made. There were then further presentations on other areas of the church where the company's services could be needed. The presenter noted that there is the need to train people on how to have a household budget. He quoted a statistic to back up his claims that households rarely have budgets for their money. And therefore for people to have some money left over in order to give to their church, the church must share in the responsibility to help their members budget well.

According to the representatives of the Royalhouse Chapel International and the International Central Gospel Church whom I met at the seminar, this event was successful and they were keen to have the company send them an expert to help teach the members of the church on budgeting.²⁸⁸ There was also a question and answer time to clarify issues of concern to the participants, and participants who were interested could invite Stewardship to assist them with a range of financial issues in their churches. The churches and individuals who organize these initiatives claim to have benefitted from these initiatives. In a discussion with the Pastors of ICGC, DC and other participants, they had praise for the content and delivery of the training. There was almost a unanimous agreement that these schemes have helped them and others they know in the churches. However there were a few who questioned the need for such training programmes when there was no direct hand-out from the church to capitalize their business ideas and plans, and they could not go to the banks as some of the members'

²⁸⁷ 'Gift Aid is a way for charities or Community Amateur Sports Clubs (CASCs) to increase the value of monetary gifts from UK taxpayers by claiming back the basic rate tax paid by the donor on the donation. It can increase the value of donations by a quarter at no extra cost to the donor. Gift Aid is worth nearly £1 billion a year to charities and their donors'. The above is information on Gift Aid found on the HMRC website at http://www.hmrc.gov.uk/charities/gift_aid/basics.html, accessed on 21 February 2013.

²⁸⁸ As a participant of a seminar on Gift Aid organized by Stewardship in London, in January 2013.

immigration status and credit worthiness is a hindrance to taking those options and ideas any further.

3.4 Education and training through the use of the mass media by the churches; and the creation of a new 'Ghanaian-British' identity.

The social welfare programmes embarked upon by the churches to mitigate 'uprootedness' among the migrant church members both internally and externally have involved the use of media tools. In most of the forums and functions a projector screen is used, with video clips from platforms such as YouTube being shown to disseminate information to the participants. During their services, ICGC, DC, FCI and RCI uses digital projectors to project the lyrics of songs to enable members follow the worship teams in the worship services. DC and FCI stream their services live each Sunday for their online members around the world.²⁸⁹ These churches also professionally produce their Sunday services on DVDs for sale in their bookstands and shops. In some cases services are streamed live via the Internet to allow non-members of the church to be part of the service as well as individuals who are abroad and who want to stay in touch with their mother churches or ministries.²⁹⁰ For instance during the thirtieth anniversary of ICGC Ghana, the Sunday celebration service held at the Accra Sports stadium in Ghana was streamed live so the members in London could be part of the service in Accra that particular Sunday morning. Some of these productions are done wholly in-house whilst in some cases production is outsourced to reputable media companies around the

²⁸⁹ Innocent Chilwa, "Online Religion in Nigeria: The Internet Church and Cyber Miracles," *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 47, 6 (2012): 734-749.

²⁹⁰ Christopher Helland, "Diaspora on the electronic frontier: Developing virtual connections with sacred homelands," *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 12, 3 (2007): 956-976.

country. These Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches are well represented on social media sites such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram among others, and use these as a platform to reach out to the public in ways that were totally non-existent a couple of decades ago. The churches use these social media tools to establish their identity, presence and reputation, as will be discussed in the sub-sections below.²⁹¹ As such, through the live Internet streaming, these churches have a local presence they also have a global presence and participate in the globalisation of Pentecostalism and religion in general. As well as registered local members of the churches they have ‘informal members’ who follow them at random and take part in their activities through these media platforms.²⁹² The challenge with these virtual members is that they endanger religious authority and there is no control over the application of content by the virtual audience.²⁹³

In spite of the challenges, these churches use mass media to advertise the God they worship, the church as an organization, and as a way of making a statement to the world about who they are. Lehtikoinen’s assert that the media use by these churches reflects the ‘media theology of the institution’.²⁹⁴ As an addition to Lehtikoinen, I posit that the media production of these churches actually reflects their practical theology and enforces their cosmology among their community of believers; a cosmology which is influenced by ties to their countries of origin. Their socio- cultural and philosophical lineages of the African-led churches are in many cases revealed through these productions. They also become the avenue through which the leaders of these churches carve an image for themselves on the black

²⁹¹ Jan H. Kietzmann ; Kristopher Hermkens; Ian P. McCarthy; Bruno S. Silvestre, “Social media? Get serious! Understanding the functional building blocks of social media,” *Business Horizons* 54, 3 (2011): 241-251.

²⁹² Laura Garton and Barry Wellman, “Social impacts of electronic mail in organizations: A review of the research literature,” *Communication Yearbook* 18, (1995): 434–53.

²⁹³ Heidi Campbell, “Who’s got the power? Religious authority and the internet,” *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 12, 3 (2007): 1043-1062.

²⁹⁴ Lehtikoinen, T. *Religious Media Theory: Understanding Mediated Faith and Christian Applications of Modern Media*. (Finland; University of Jyväskylä, 2003).

majority churches' religious landscape in Britain. Not only do they use the media to do this, but also to make a statement to the world around them to secure their share of the religious market share.²⁹⁵ These modern media outreach tools that the churches employ can help us understand the religio-cultural values of these migrants within the context of transnational migration.²⁹⁶ Due to the fact that the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches are transnational in nature, their use of the media is at times reflective of their past, their present and the future. These productions and their content reveal their past origins and the belief systems they held, as well as their present, and how they intend to be in the future, having made strides towards integration through creating a new identity for themselves. Within the media however, there is very little to show in terms of a deliberate effort and strategy for assisting the migrant members of these churches to integrate into British society as you can find in these churches. The initiatives the pastors and leaders of these churches have referred to, as direct efforts to help migrants to integrate into British society are not different from what has already been discussed in section 3.1. However, the effort put into these productions gives a certain image of these migrant dominated churches, which affects the self-worth of the migrants, and could go a long way to assist them in their integration efforts. It must be noted that these are all internal programs put together to assist the migrant members and not something of a global appeal, as some of these forums are held privately.

As we found out from the previous section these social welfare interventions are organised in such a way that people do not have to necessarily know the immigration status of individual

²⁹⁵ J Kwabena Asamoah Gyadu, "Pentecostal Media Images and Religious Globalisation in Sub-Saharan Africa," in Peter Horsfield, Mary Hess and Adan Medrano (eds.) *Belief in Media: Media and Christianity in Cultural Perspective* (London: Ashgate, 2004), 70.

²⁹⁶ Johnson K Asamoah-Gyadu, "Get on the Internet! Says the Lord': Religion, Cyberspace and Christianity in Contemporary Africa," *Studies in World Christianity* 13, 3 (2007): 225-242.

participants.²⁹⁷ These strategies are further epitomised in the kind of personal development and motivational sermons that are preached, and which are normally found on their DVDs, making these integration efforts an internal activity rather than external. Ironically, although these churches have the intention to train and educate their predominantly migrant members through the mass media, with the ultimate aim of creating a new identity for the members through integration, cannot be ascertained. The initiatives through the mass media rather seem to promote the pastors, the organisation and God, and the migrant members by inference but not directly. Pastor Ofosuware mentioned that he was moving his weekly broadcast on one of the popular Christian TV stations patronized by the African community and owned by a Nigerian pastor on the Sky platform to another secular station on Sky that happens to be owned by a Ghanaian businessman. According to him, the owner of the secular TV station has approached him with a proposal for him to buy a stake in the business, and he is considering the offer. The reason he stated for his intention to move his weekly broadcast is the fact that he has evidence that most of the people who watch the Christian stations are Christians and these stations have no appeal to the non-Christian audience who visit the Sky media platform.²⁹⁸ If the focus of the media content was to be for their members only with the motive of educating and training their migrant members and other Pentecostal migrant Christians to help contribute to their integration and assist them in creating a new identity for themselves, then there should be no reason to move the broadcast between two different TV stations as the pastor intended. Alternatively the churches can adopted both approaches to reaching out as well. Therefore I would suggest (and will go on to explain why) that the use of the mass media by ICGC, DC, FCI and RCI is for the promotion of the leaders/ pastors, the churches and God and migrant members by inference, rather than about action or about the

²⁹⁷ Focus group discussion at FCI, conducted on 07 July 2012.

²⁹⁸ Supplementary Interview with Pastor Ofosuware conducted in his office on the 9 January 2013. He was speaking on the impact of the churches work on the church's community.

direct promotion of migrants and could have been for both motives. That is not to say that they do not intend to use this platform to educate, train and help migrant members, but in practice what is actually happening is contrary to their initiatives as may have been intended.

3.4.1 Promoting the Pastors through Media Initiatives

However, the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches are able to use the media to their advantage. This is because of the contexts and because their main target audiences are accustomed to the churches' use of the media in their places of origin. The use of the media according to Maxwell has become part of the Church's 'Pentecostal self definition'.²⁹⁹ To some extent some of the churches and the pastors use the media, broadly expressing their breaking away from the past where the media has been left in the hands of the devil to accomplish his own plans.³⁰⁰ And although there is some divisive programming shown on TV, for instance from most of the prophet-led Pentecostal churches featuring deliverance sessions, generally most of the migrants view the use of the media as positive because it gives them a presence in the virtual religious space. The churches claim to use the media to educate and train the migrants towards integration and have maintained this as their motivation for its use. However, as the churches make efforts to carry out their intentions of educating their members and training them towards integrating into British society, the media has also become the grounds for contesting for religious space by the pastors of African Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches in Britain.³⁰¹

²⁹⁹ Maxwell, "Editorial," 255

³⁰⁰ Asamoah-Gyadu, "Anointing through the screen," 13.

³⁰¹ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 55.

Over time, this has become an issue one cannot ignore. In my own estimation, ten years ago, on the Sky TV platform one could only mention God TV, Wonderful TV, TBN, EWTN, and Revelation TV by my own observation as the only Christian TV stations with completely Christian programming. Out of these stations the only station owned by an African was Wonderful TV, which has in the last couple of years gone into liquidation.³⁰² Currently these are the Christian TV stations using the Sky Media platform for their broadcasting aside from those already mentioned: Open Heavens TV, Daystar, UCB TV, Loveworld TV, Inspiration Network International, Gospel Channel Europe, Eternal Word TV Network, The Word Network, KICC TV, Believe TV, Faith World TV, Olive TV and SonLife Broadcasting Network. These stations also broadcast programmes from other churches that pay for their programmes to be aired. The TV stations which are mainly owned by African churches and predominantly broadcast programmes of the churches with African orientation are: Open Heavens TV, which is owned by the Redeemed Christian Church of God, led by Enoch Adeboye; KICC TV, which is owned by Kingsway International Christian Centre, led by Matthew Ashimolowo; Believe TV, which is owned by the Victorious Pentecostal Assembly, led by Alex Omokodu; Olive TV, which is owned by Gilbert Deya Ministries, led by Gilbert Deya; Faith World TV, which is owned by World Evangelism Bible Church led by Samson Ayorinde; and Loveworld TV which is owned by Christ Embassy Church led by Chris Oyakhilome.³⁰³ The other Ghanaian TV stations on the Sky TV platform such as Klear TV and ABN, are not designated Christian stations as such but also play host to a number of Ghanaian-led churches.³⁰⁴

³⁰² TV station on my own count following the development of Christian TV channels on the terrestrial TV platforms in Britain.

³⁰³ The TV stations and the churches that own them are the researcher's own count and enquiry from the channel's adverts placed on the various stations.

³⁰⁴ Enquiries made about the ownership of these stations who broadcast on the Sky platform.

The influx of these TV stations has also led to a surge in the number of churches and pastors who present programmes on these stations. It is on this stage that most of these pastors promote themselves and also jostling for members from the Christian marketplace to increase their 'market share' and the number of members for their churches.³⁰⁵ As most of these churches are transnational in nature the rush to be on TV is something that is still happening in the various countries where these churches and pastors originally come from and hold ties. The situation in Britain is a continuation of the phenomenon that exists in the countries of origin and due to the transnational ties the practice and quest to be on TV is carried over to Britain, their current place of settlement.³⁰⁶ Besides the transnational nature of the pursuit and development of a media presence by these churches, it has to be understood that Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches by their organisational arrangements 'have remained autochthonous founder-led congregations and the personal charisma and psychology of the leader shapes their orientation'.³⁰⁷ As a result of the structures that exist in most of these churches, members and the other lay leaders tend to promote the pastor and seek in every possible way to build an image for him or her befitting an individual designated as the face of the church in the media. The image-building quest has particularly been part of African Pentecostalism, and encompasses what pastors wear, eat, drive, where they live, and other accessories available to them as a sign of 'blessing from the Lord'.³⁰⁸

As a result, the quest to promote these pastors have in some cases created underground rules not taught or verbalized such as lay leaders and other pastors not driving the same car or

³⁰⁵ De Witte, Marleen. "Altar Media's *Living Word*: Televised Charismatic Christianity in Ghana," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 33, 2 (2003): 172-202.

³⁰⁶ Mitchel, Nathaniel D., "Ritual and New Media," in Eric Borgman, Stephan van Erp and Hille Haker (eds), *Cyberspace - Cyberethics - Cybertheology. Concilium*, (London: SCM, 2005), 90-98.

³⁰⁷ J K Asamoah-Gyadu, "Pentecostal Media Images and Religious Globalisation in Sub-Saharan Africa," in Peter Horsfield, Mary Hess and Adan Medrano (eds.) *Belief in Media: Media and Christianity in Cultural Perspective*, (London: Ashgate, 2004), 65.

³⁰⁸ Birgit Meyer, "Pentecostalism, Prosperity and Popular Cinema in Ghana," *Culture and Religion* 3, 1 (2002): 67-87.

similar cars of the same value as that of their senior pastors. In most of these churches, not only are the pastors' seats visibly different from those of the rest of the congregation, but also the senior pastors seats are different again, to give a clear indication of the status of these men and women who are perceived with so much reverence and honour as leaders of the churches. In all of the churches I visited, these pastors often join the congregation for worship after the service is well advanced with an usher or appointed chaperone carrying their Bibles, Tablets and personal effects into the service; also an indication of the higher status they enjoy among their members.³⁰⁹ A transnational perspective helps explain this phenomenon. In most Ghanaian societies during durbar of chiefs or during festivals the chief is the last to appear on the durbar grounds as all those present stand for them to take their seat before everyone else sits. In spite of this transnational twist to this phenomenon a visit to a white Pentecostal church in Milton Keynes revealed a similar occurrence where pastors and the top hierarchy of leaders walk into the service late. Therefore this practice of honouring leadership in this particular way could be concluded to be something akin to the Pentecostal and neo-Pentecostal churches, rather than just a cultural influence. However, the cultural transfer element, which is traced as a transnational occurrence, cannot be ruled out completely. It has to be noted that most of the churches use the TV broadcasting and the social media sites more than the newspaper and radio stations which are comparatively expensive to the previously mentioned media platforms.

As part of the promotional endeavour of members and churches of their leaders and pastors, these churches resort to the use of TV broadcasting to showcase their pastors by projecting them as the face of the churches and should they appear desirable to the audience, it should bring in more people into the churches. There is a philosophy that these churches operate by

³⁰⁹ A participatory observation of FCI, ICGC, DC, RCI revealed a lot of people using computer tablets and mobile devices either to record the sermons or to access online bibles for their references.

and it is that once your leader gets there you get there too. In some cases being on TV or radio is used as a status symbol. Hiebert notes that:

The mass media bestow prestige and enhance authority of individuals and groups by legitimizing their status. Recognition by the press or radio or magazines or news reels testifies that one has arrived, that one is important enough to have been singled out from the large anonymous masses, that one's behaviour and opinions are significant enough to require public notice.³¹⁰

There is some credence to what Hiebert et al claim to be the effect of the mass media on the populace regarding the impression it creates amongst them. In order not to create the impression that these media houses are in search of these churches and their leaders to feature them on their platforms it has to be understood that most of the time these media solicitations are strategised and paid for by the churches themselves, and not a free-to-air gesture from the media houses. This action and the sense of urgency of the church is informed by the millennialist beliefs that they are agents for God's end time plan of reaching out to as many people as possible.³¹¹ It is also a deliberate action by the churches themselves to be on those platforms to create that impression on the minds of the populace, as well as to create the impression that yes, that the African-led churches have come of age. But often members of the churches are left to foot the bill for the cost of these broadcasts, thereby increasing the financial burdens on the members of the churches in addition to their usual offerings and tithes.³¹² In effect more money is needed to fund the multiple airtime slots. The DC and RCI pastors noted that there is proof that the broadcasts have brought people to the church, and they argue that the broadcasts from various churches using these platforms are never the

³¹⁰ Hiebert, R. E., D. F. Ungarait and T. W. Bonn, *Mass Media IV: An Introduction to Modern Communication*, (New York and London: Longman, 1985), 246.

³¹¹ Rosalind I.J. Hackett, "Charismatic Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, (1998): 263.

³¹² The debt burden of the broadcasting on the churches was revealed in an informal discussion with a host of a program on LoveWorld TV in London.

same.³¹³ There is also the issue of packaging the broadcast and creating an impression of the pastor being a super star who has attained the heights most of the audience are striving to attain, thereby creating an incentive to find out what else they as individuals can do to emulate such attainments.

The content of the broadcasts of these churches can be heard and seen in other churches that are not on TV, so why the rush to get on TV? The TV broadcasts become the grounds for espousing the theology of the churches and how that theology metamorphoses into the practical life of the pastor. In doing so they project the pastor as the object of authentication of the message they hold and preach in the churches, emphasising that ‘the appropriation and use of modern media technologies facilitates the dissemination of the Word to the masses’.³¹⁴ This disposition to broadcasting and the image building that goes with it has been borrowed from the American TV evangelists such as Oral Roberts and Kenneth Hagin whose broadcasts were on TV in some sub-Saharan African countries such as Ghana and Nigeria in the 1970s. Programming of these broadcasts is done carefully to promote the pastors who speak in them as having something special to give to society. However, as to the direct influence on migrants seeking integration into British society, there is currently no evidence to suggest a direct influence of the broadcast on the integration of migrants. The pastors are most of the time depicted as having been highly anointed by God and also as being very down to earth in their relationship with the congregations, to prove they are in touch with current social, economic, religious, technological and political trends. Although there have been attempts to ‘suggest their participation in the globalisation process is not merely an attempt to adapt to

³¹³ In a supplementary interview with Pastor Sam Apraku on 26 November 2013 at the office in Woodgreen North London; and Pastor Ofosuware on 09 January 2013 at the church premises at Welling.

³¹⁴ Hackett, ‘Charismatic Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana’, pp. 259.

modern trends in keeping with change and progress'.³¹⁵ There is no doubt that these pastors divide opinion on their mode of operations within their churches but these operations also become the vehicle to enforce the African traditional worldview, that answers to life's sometimes complex problems can be obtained supernaturally through those whom the gods and ancestors have appointed. Therefore the portrayal of the pastors in the media as successful 'former migrants' is intended so that the migrant members or audience can look at the pastors' lives now and aspire to attain the same life and even better lives than they have. This seems to justify their portrayal in the mass media avenues that they use for this purpose.

3.4.2 Promoting the Church and its International Connections

Besides the promotion of the pastors as the faces of the churches, the second element for promotion on these mass media avenues are the churches themselves as ministries or organisations of repute. A critical look at the websites, social media sites, internally published newsletters, magazines and programmes broadcasted by these churches gives one the impression that the images placed on these sites are carefully designed to align with other elements of the church in its promotion endeavour. On the churches' websites there are pictures of cross sections of their congregations taken from very good photographic angles; their church buildings; smartly dressed staff; and groups who are smartly dressed and organised, to complete the story of success. There are pictures featuring other activities and programmes of the church such 'Day in the Park' and summer picnics (on FCI's website); games (on ICGC's website); community initiatives and many more. The audio-visual depictions of the churches in the mass media are deliberately done to create the impression

³¹⁵ Asamoah-Gyadu, "Pentecostal Media Images and Religious Globalisation in Sub-Saharan Africa," 67.

that the churches have come of age and in tune with current social trends. However these images they create of themselves also depict the churches as projects of modernity from the perspective of consumption. There are instances that those presentations in the mass media are targeted towards the upwardly mobile youth in the communities who many of these churches consider as the next generation of leaders, in all sectors of the nation. The depictions of the churches through the images used in these media productions are of very successful people enjoying the high life and if anyone associates with the church they are more likely to be among them. The VT that the RCI, FCI and DC use to introduce their broadcast are one of such examples of the churches' carefully-crafted image of success they put across on the media. According to Meyer, 'conversion to Christianity also was a conversion to modernity, and Christians formed the new elites in colonial society'.³¹⁶ If that was the case then there would be no need to embark on initiatives to assist migrant members, some of whom are grappling with basic issues of daily survival, and for whom 'modernity' might have eluded though they seek it earnestly. In reality it is not as the images would suggest, although each of these churches have members who are well placed in society and fit the depictions in the mass media campaigns.

The other reason why the churches have these representations in the media is to give them an international appeal, creating the impression that they have arrived on the international scene as major players in the religious arena, with answers to the problems that confront humanity.³¹⁷ The connection to this internationalisation phenomenon is embedded in the idea that their message is universal to other problems confronting humanity beyond their local context. As a result some of these churches such as RCI Ghana, Action Chapel International,

³¹⁶ Birgit Meyer, "Pentecostalism, Prosperity and Popular Cinema in Ghana," *Culture and Religion* 3, 1 (2002): 69-70.

³¹⁷ Meyer, "Pentecostalism, Prosperity and Popular Cinema in Ghana," 70-71.

Lighthouse Chapel International, sometimes show clips of sermons they preached in other countries on their media platform and also show their itineraries of where and when they are invited to preach. To further enhance their international pedigree as churches they tend to introduce speakers from other parts of the world in their churches that they usually advertise on their mass media platforms. In 2011 for instance these are the speakers who visited the churches in this case study: RCI, Bishop AO Bernard from the Netherlands; Prophet Daniel Awusanya from South Africa; FCI, Apostle Emanuel Vivan Duncan; and ICGC, Prophet Daniel Ashong.³¹⁸ The introduction of these speakers also seems to reveal far-reaching networks beyond their places of operation into other parts of the world. One cannot fathom the importance of this for these churches except that it is placed within the context of being a ‘blessing of God’ for their efforts.³¹⁹

This situation can be set within the context of the theories of migration where migrants believe that their migration is not only prompted by socio-economic or political factors but also by religious factors, where the migrants believe God sends them.³²⁰ Within the theological understanding of these churches having friends in high places that they could potentially rely on at any point is a blessing, something they refer to as ‘divine connections’. This sometimes features in their prayer meetings where they pray that God brings them into contact with people who can be sources of help to them. However this psyche is actually not a recent phenomenon: the mainline churches in Ghana similarly invited rich prominent men of a high social standing to chair ‘harvest’ celebrations, yearly fundraising initiatives of the churches to support major church projects. There is always a yearning to look to their connections elsewhere for some form of support or affirmation. Studies into the expectations

³¹⁸ Information obtained from old flyers from the churches advertising those church programmes.

³¹⁹ Asamoah Gyadu, “Pentecostal Media Images and Religious Globalisation in Sub-Saharan Africa,” 70.

³²⁰ See the theories of migration in chapter 2.1.

of relatives of migrants abroad have shown that relatives wait on their support and remittances for poor family members in the countries of origin, because it is assumed that migrants are in the land of endless economic opportunities: there is little or no awareness of their struggles as migrants.³²¹

The issue of remittances from migrants for instance has made prayer prophecies for visas a significant part of these churches' requests of their members in the countries of origin.³²² The reason for these kinds of prayer is because of the apparent difficulties in obtaining visas to countries in Europe and the Americas, in spite of the fact that the embassies and High Commissions in these African countries claim the applications are each processed on their own merit. Notably, the African Presidents who attract most direct foreign investment are those who have connections abroad and therefore from a political point of view these churches are only mimicking on a micro scale what happens on a macro scale within their countries of origin. This development from their religio-cultural roots as Ghanaian-led churches undermines assertions that this phenomenon is an imitation of a largely 'American phenomenon' because of the perception that North America's superior technology and material abundance represents the kind of modernity that these churches seek to portray through their mass media platforms.³²³

These churches seem to use mass media to advertise the church as a solution centre for human problems. The sermons preached and captions of happy people either singing or enthusiastically responding to the sermons being preached with shouts of affirmation and

³²¹D. K. Arhinful, "'We Think of Them': Money Transfers from the Netherlands to Ghana," in I Van Kessel (ed.), *Merchants, Missionaries and Migrants: 300 Years of Dutch-Ghanaian Relations* (Accra: Sub Saharan Publishers, 2002), 157.

³²²R. A. Van Dijk, "From Camp to Encompassment: Discourses of Transsubjectivity in the Ghanaian Pentecostal Diaspora," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28,1 (1997): 135- 159.

³²³E. M. Rogers, *Diffusion of Innovations*, 4th ed. (New York: Free Press, 1995), 18.

approval sends the message to the viewers that one can be happy in church. This is a significant striking feature in these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in the sense that, contrasting this with the mainline white British churches, it is easy to map out a unique identity for these churches by the show of enthusiasm and vibrancy exhibited by the members. Also one of the driving forces behind all that is done is their ambition to use their mass media platforms to draw members to their churches. These platforms provide information on how one can become a member of the church and be a part of the success story. This becomes the eventual expectation of the churches for every minor detail they put into their mass media campaigns. If these did not culminate into gaining an increase in their membership, these churches would be unlikely to pump in the huge sums of money that go into these mass media campaigns. However, not all of them get the desired increase in membership as other factors may have an influence, such as the packaging of these productions. Though they may not admit that the inconsistencies on the paid media platforms are a result of the packaging and money problems, these hold the clue to inconsistencies in representations on the various media platforms.

It is possible that these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches may fall short in using their media platforms to directly educate and train their migrant members to integrate into British society and also in helping them create a unique Ghanaian-British identity. The Christian dimensions of these Africans' participation in global affairs cannot be overlooked since they are making significant contributions in the process of globalisation of Pentecostalism in general.³²⁴

³²⁴ Kwame Bediako, "African and Christianity on the Threshold of the Third Millenium: The Religious Dimension," *African Affairs*, 99 (2000): 311.

3.4.3 Promoting God

An additional motive in these churches' use of mass media is their promotion of God, and since God from a particular perspective can be considered as a globalised commodity in the religious market place, it places the churches within a certain sphere of acceptance of those who patronise 'the God commodity'. The churches that present themselves on the mass media platforms, especially on television, are very much aware that their audience is varied and does not just include Christians. For instance, the audience may include those who consider themselves spiritual but not necessarily Christian. With society increasingly being said to be secularising, the churches use these platforms to advertise the God they serve as being a relevant part of everyday life. There is awareness that the mass media is open to all and there is seen to be a contest of spiritual power and authority over the airwaves, so the church has no choice but to step to the mark by asserting the power of God.³²⁵ This fact is encapsulated in Viney's description of the nature of the audience of these broadcasts:

A closer examination of the audience shows that religious programmes are still watched by the majority of the adult population. And although viewers over 55 are well represented in the audience for many programmes, the audience for religious television is in reality more diverse than public and broadcasting industry perceptions would suggest.³²⁶

Therefore other than the broadcast of Christian stations intended exclusively for the migrant church members or Christians in general, there is a sense that 'non-church-goers' or non-Christians are equally a target audience for these churches. It has to be said however that Viney's assertion refers to public television stations and makes references to BBC and ITV

³²⁵ Asamoah-Gyadu, "Get on the Internet! Says the Lord," 225-242.

³²⁶ Rachel Viney, "Religious Broadcasting on UK Television: Policy, Public Perception and Programmes," *Cultural Trends* 9, 36 (1999): 1-28.

and their religious programmes. However there is some similarity with other independent private stations where most of these religious programmes are aired. This initiative seems to fulfil their reverse mission agenda of bringing back African Christianity with all its fervour to the Western world. It has to be noted that there are no signs that these media campaigns advertising God have attracted any people from the predominantly white communities, who represent the majority of the population; most of these churches have very small numbers of white members. During my participant observation at these churches, I noted that RCI had two permanent white members with one serving as an usher and the other in the choir. FCI has about five white members, three of whom are members of the Metropolitan Police force. DC has two white members and ICGC has none. There was no indication as to whether these white members are married to blacks or were there simply as worshippers. In most of these African-led churches in Europe, the vast majority of their white members become members because their black spouses attend those churches. The wider reason to capture this occurrence is the Ghanaian cultural influence on the practice and organisation of the church service, which is a transnational influence. The focus of these broadcasts by the migrant churches has largely been targeted to the migrant community. Advertising this God as the source of strength in dealing with the everyday struggles of the impoverished migrant makes them relevant to their target audience.

There is a constant reminder on these media platforms by the churches of the fact that the pastors who present these sermons are God's men and the churches are God's houses. God's men or Men of God as they are often referred to, go on to show how God is brought to the fore in the achievements and attainments of those who present these programmes for the churches. The audience are given the impression that God is responsible for all that happens and all they see in those productions. This applies to the actual production props and the

testimonies of God's activities in the lives of people from all kinds of life situations. Once again, some of the things they attribute to God are debatable although there is no suggestion to limit the involvement of God in any individual's life. Most of the time accounts are subjective but some of the issues are quite trivial to attract a non-believer to this God. For instance in one of the clips was a testimony of someone who claimed to have been looking for a job for months, until the pastor called her out and prayed for her against a spirit that prevented her from obtaining a job. About a week later, she was called by a company she had applied to a couple of months previously but had received no response from, except an acknowledgement letter of receipt of the application. She said that they called her unexpectedly and asked her to start work without having to attend an interview.³²⁷ These testimonies are not verifiable on their own, and can be problematic.

The whole idea is about personalising God to their audiences, creating an image of God as a being interested in the everyday mundane affairs of those who seek him.³²⁸ The theological problem is the extent of God's involvement in individual's life, a perspective that could be traced to the African holistic worldview which states that everything physical has a corresponding spiritual cause which is 'interpenetrating and inseparable, yet with distinguishable parts'.³²⁹ Africans 'believe in the existence of two worlds which are in constant interaction with one another and occurrences in each affect the other and yet are distinct from each other'.³³⁰ The interwoven nature of African traditional beliefs is a significant point in the transnational discourse in that though they are physically removed from their countries of origin these Pentecostals seem to be hugely influenced by the belief

³²⁷ An examination of a video recording of testimony that had been previously broadcasted three times on Faith TV in 2011. Video watched in the RCI pastor's office on 28 November 2012.

³²⁸ Birgit Meyer, "'There is a Spirit in that image': Mass-produced Jesus pictures and Protestant-Pentecostal animation in Ghana," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 52, 1 (2010): 100-130.

³²⁹ Okorocha, *The Meaning of Religious Conversion in Africa*, p. 52.

³³⁰ Bernard Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 17.

systems of their countries of origin. Considering the example of the churches' television productions, these churches are in this case affecting the nature and development of Christianity in the western nations and also providing an alternative to the kind of Christianity that the western nations have been used to as expressed in the mainline churches. That aside, the programming is meant to teach migrants and assist them to deal with issues that confront them using the scriptures.

The audience are also given the impression that these churches are the houses of God; God leads and rules in those houses and blesses those who belong to those houses. The message is that everything you see in the production is as a result of the involvement of God who is the solution to the peculiar problem of migrant's settlement and integration. The focus of the TV productions of RCI is on deliverance by the power of God; FCI focuses on the freedom that comes to the believer through prosperity given by God; and DC focuses on the advancement of the individual by harnessing the leadership potential given to them by God.³³¹ Critical analyses of these television programmes reveal that a large chunk of the emphasis of sermons and the entire production reflect the mission of the churches. In these broadcasts of the African churches, suffering is attributed to the devil, which is also an issue of a cosmological leaning. The God they serve is the God of the here and now and not much of the eschatological views of the church universal is discussed on these television programmes. Therefore the focus of the message resonates with the migrant in their efforts to integrate into the host society. Gyekye sums up this point of view as he notes that

...Traditional African religions do not appear to be concerned about the kind of life that will be led by the immortal soul. They present no elaborate doctrines about what are referred to in other religions as 'the last things' (in Western Theology, 'eschatology')... in contrast to the

³³¹ Information obtained through the interviews with the pastors of RCI, FCI and DC on the impact of the use of the media as a platform of reaching out to their communities.

silence on matters relating to the destiny of the soul in afterlife, the emphasis on the pursuit and attainment of human well-being in this world is unrelenting.³³²

It should therefore not come as a surprise, given observations about the focus of these Pentecostal churches in Britain on the existential realities of their members, that their broadcasts do not get into theological debates about the ‘last things’. It is however that most of these pastors also do not engage in these eschatological debates because most of them have had no extensive theological education prior to their appointment to lead their churches. To these pastors promoting God is promoting the source of help for the migrant and the myriad of challenges they face in their efforts to integrate into society. One might say that some of the teachings are populist in nature; with an emphasis on scriptural truths discovered by others, rather than on teachings derived from deep personal theological convictions and leanings. This in itself creates a unique religious identity for the churches, which I would refer to as ‘Ghanaian-British’ identity. This is an identity that hinges largely on religion as the focal point for social networks and expression; and therefore the transformation of the churches through the socio-cultural influence of British society creates a situation in which the churches are mimicking both the past heritage and present social context. It is the combination of the factors of nurture and nature that determine the identity of the churches.

3.4.4 The ‘Nature and Nurture’ Combination Determining Ghanaian-British Religious Identity

In spite of the influence of African traditional cosmology on the practice and theological

³³² Kwame Gyekye, *African Cultural Values: An Introduction* (Accra: Sankofa Publishing Company: 1998), 14.

outlook of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches there is an attempt to create a religious identity that can be traced to both Ghana and Britain. The churches have assigned themselves the task of charting and appropriating religious space outside the cultural contexts from which they emerged in order to legitimize their place within British society.³³³ Some specific features become apparent when one takes a critical look at the churches.

Mass media presentations of the churches on TV and elsewhere give these churches a unique identity. Anyone familiar with such broadcasts would realise that these broadcasts are not the same aesthetically, theologically and professionally as those from the USA. Despite the fact that these churches sometimes copy aspects of their presentation from their ‘older American brothers’ who have years of broadcasting experience, broadcasts produced in Britain have an element of British cultural values to them. This is partly because they are produced in Britain and the footage is cut to the taste of the wider British audience who are somewhat conservative in expression compared to the sometimes ‘over the top’ presentation of their transatlantic neighbours, the Americans. In as much as aspects of the broadcast can even be copied from elsewhere, these presentations define the identity of the presenters. In other words, the content of the broadcasts is an expression of the identity of the individuals and the churches they lead, as most of the time the leader’s ideological values influence the formation of the ideological values of the followers. In relation to this, Fiske asserts that ‘characters on television are not just representations of individual people but are encodings of ideology, ‘embodiments of ideological values’.³³⁴ In addition, the distinguishing factor of this identity discourse lies in ‘their commitment to a “full gospel”, highly evangelistic, Bible-centred, not forcibly, but leaning toward, literalist, religious orientation’. This would set these pastors and

³³³ Adogame, “Betwixt Identity and Security,” 25.

³³⁴ John, Fiske. *Television Culture* (London and New York: Routledge, 1987), 6.

their churches apart from other Pentecostals both black and white.³³⁵ This is an identity forged from the cultural heritage of the churches and their leaders as Hackett's assertion referred to an observation on the Ghanaian religious scene.

Again, looking at these churches such FCI, RCI, DC and ICGC from the outside, they come across as very well organized, with formalized organizational hierarchies and administrative structures; but a closer look within reveals that they are less formalized than they appear and lack functional structures. Power is concentrated in the hands of the senior pastor who is involved in all day-to-day administrative management of the church. Most of the churches have a very lean paid staff and volunteers are usually relied upon in the running of the church services, other than management. The interaction between the nature and nurture aspect of their religious identity can be drawn from the fact that most churches in Britain, and the Charity Commission regulates not only predominantly white member churches. This requires that certain administrative and management policies be put in place to ensure the smooth management of the churches, which are required by law to register as Charities. The Charity Commission for England and Wales declares itself to be 'a non-Ministerial Government Department, part of the Civil Service' and to be 'completely independent of Ministerial influence and also independent from the sector it regulates', with 'a number of quasi-judicial functions where it uses powers similar to those of the High Court'.³³⁶

Once registered, there are certain administrative and management requirements such as the submission of annual report and accounts to the Commission, which detail among other

³³⁵ Rosalind I.J. Hackett, "Charismatic/Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Ghana and Nigeria," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28, 3 (1998): 262 –277.

³³⁶ The Identity of the Charity Commission found at http://www.charitycommission.gov.uk/About_us/About_the_Commission/Our_status_index.aspx, accessed on 03 May 2013.

things the financial standing of the church and the focus and forecasts of its activities in the previous year and year ahead. This is purely a British institutional initiative, which churches must comply with if the Charity Commission registers them as a Charity. These issues of compliance with Charity Commission regulations are environmental factors, which I refer to as nurture, since the state of the churches is determined by external factors, which are imposed by the social cultural context within which they are established. This attempt by the churches to comply with the Charity Commission regulations gives them a unique identity akin to the British mode of institutional organisation, compared to the administrative and organisational structures these churches might have adopted from their countries of origin. In Ghana, there is the Office of the Registrar General which deals with registering churches, however there is currently no regulatory body that deals directly with churches as the Charity Commission in Britain does to ensure that certain administrative, hierarchical and management procedures are in place to curb excesses and to assist the churches in accomplishing their goals. Notwithstanding the seamless interaction of nature and nurture that gives the churches a unique Ghanaian-British identity, the Ghanaian-led churches are still practically and functionally loose; they are less formal in their administrative structures and management as control is often in the hands of the senior pastor.

A factor that contributes to this is that the Charities Commission's regulations allow the pastors of the churches to act as trustees of the charity and therefore the church. Charity trustees are the people who form the governing body or 'board' of a charity. 'They may be called trustees, directors, board members, governors or committee members, but they are the people with ultimate responsibility for directing the business of the charity'.³³⁷ This permission to allow pastors of the churches to act as trustees concentrates too much power

³³⁷ Charities Commission Definition of Trusteeship found at http://www.charity-commission.gov.uk/About_us/About_charities/Trusteeship_index.aspx. Accessed 03.05.13.

and control in the hands of the senior pastor and so churches still mimic the Ghanaian church structures, although not entirely.

The Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches organise themselves in such a way as to ‘validate their sense of ethnic and religious identity’, through their established networks with other churches and in some cases with other organisations interested in diaspora matters.³³⁸ This kind of network with other organisations is not limited to churches alone but also to other religious groups such as the African traditional religions. In 2011 a series of meetings were organized by the Donipa Foundation International in Holland, which invited Nana Kwaku Bonsam a popular Indigenous Religious Priest based in Ghana to visit and divine for interested Ghanaians and other Africans who needed spiritual help.³³⁹

The networking seems to be within the African communities which appears to continue to advance their African identity but it is also a unique identity in their current context in that there is a development of ideological values that are intended to mediate the difficulties associated with their migration, such as their denigration and demonization within sections of the media, and to further enhance their status within British society.³⁴⁰ One emerging aspect of this networking endeavour is the pastors preaching in each other’s churches with introductions such as ‘an honorary member of this church...’, ‘a brother and friend of this church....’ inter alia. These introductions usually state how long these pastors have been in Britain, their accomplishments and their significance as a friend of the church and in the community of migrants. These kinds of pulpit exchanges and introductions are intended to breakdown every barrier that may exist in the minds of people about the differences between the pastors and their churches about their differences. These pulpit exchanges help to cure the

³³⁸ Afe Adogame, “Betwixt Identity and Security,” 33.

³³⁹ Appiah, “Christianity in Indigenous Cultures,” 33.

³⁴⁰ Roswith Gerloff, “Editorial,” *International Review of Mission* 89, no. 354 (2000): 276- 277.

unhealthy competition among these Pentecostal churches and their pastors, which sometimes tend to create a huge gap between some of them with respect to the extent of their influence in their communities. It is worth noting that there is some who are much accepted and respected by the wider host community and as a result seem to see themselves above the others. Besides, the networking happens on different levels such as ‘between churches; across language divisions (mainly French and English); and between African communities’.³⁴¹ These levels of networking often also serve as points of divisions too. Therefore the exchanges of pulpits and the celebratory introductions are used as means of bridging any potential gaps that may exist and as a way of showing acceptance. In doing this they validate their religious and ethnic identity.

3.5 The Multi-cultural Pendulum: Oscillations of Religious and Social Convictions to establish Ghanaian-British Identity.

The nature of transnationalism means that migrants bring their socio-cultural and religious orientation with them into every aspect of their lives in their new settled environment, which gives them their unique identity. The migrant’s socio-cultural and religious orientation provides the basis for networking within and outside of their community as a means of validating their identity. Through the expression of this socio-cultural and religious orientation most migrants are caught between what has been imbibed and practiced over time and what they are exposed to in their places of settlement. They are left to make decisions on a daily basis between their religious convictions and the prevailing societal norms. There are instances where these societal norms of their settled community challenge their religious

³⁴¹ Gerloff, ‘Editorial’, pp. 276- 277.

convictions and therefore are left to belong to one side of the oscillation of the pendulum of multiculturalism. An example is on the issue of co-habitation, which would be discussed in detail later in the chapter. There are also times when the exposure to the culture causes some of these migrants to close up to the culture of their host society, especially if their experiences challenge them to shift their paradigm, such as kissing, engaging in sexual activity whilst dating among others. However in most cases, there is a hybrid culture, which is a fusion of some of the desirable aspects of the hosts' culture, and the migrants' imbibed culture: this inevitably aids in the process of integration. This development takes place with regard to the relative relationships between people of similar ethnicity, their places of origin and settlement, and it is evidenced by alterations and adjustments in the people's lifestyle.³⁴² The Ghanaian migrants were seen in this study to have developed a new form of identity that is neither wholly British nor wholly Ghanaian: it is Ghanaian-British. The term Ghanaian-British refers to individuals and groups of people who first identifies themselves with their ethnic Ghanaian origins but at the same time considers themselves as part of their new society. Historically, the emergence of the concept of dual identity can be associated with the level of hostility which post-war migrant groups have faced over time: migrants were forced to pledge their loyalty to Britain, while their ethnic origins and even in some cases ties to their countries of origin were emphasised.³⁴³ However, this does not eliminate the dilemma of choices the migrants face each day between their religious convictions and the cultural norms in their place of settlement. Having a Ghanaian-British identity means having an altered lifestyle which enables an individual to integrate successfully into society without necessarily abandoning their religious convictions altogether. Therefore, although one may consider some aspects of the culture to violate the religious convictions they hold, over time they soften their

³⁴² Panikos Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800* (Edinburgh: Pearson Education: 2010), 136.

³⁴³ Panayi, *An Immigration History of Britain: Multicultural Racism since 1800*. 142

stance to accept it as the prevalent norm but not necessarily as the right thing to do. For instance a couple may decide to have a child together whilst unmarried which maybe tolerated by British culture, but there could be a counterforce of guilt against them because, it is against the religious position that Ghanaian-led Pentecostals may hold. There are also instances where migrants abandon their own religious convictions to enable them fit in as part of the process of integrating.

3.5.1 Church Worship and Liturgy

One of the distinctive features of the African Pentecostal churches is their unique form of expressional worship, characterised by singing of loud songs, shouts of praise by the congregation, drumming and vigorous dancing and speaking in tongues in congregational prayer. The other characteristic is also the duration of their church services. Most Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches have a relatively shorter service than their mother churches in Ghana, however compared to the predominantly white mainline churches, the time these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches spend in church for their services are still much longer. The average duration of services in these Pentecostal churches is about three to four hours, not including the time people spend on the premises socialising after the service is over. Time for socialising is even much longer in DC because they have a catering facility selling snacks on their premises and people spend more time with friends as they eat. The length of services in RCI, DC, FCI and ICGC, is about three and half hours whereas for the mainline churches, it is a maximum of one and half to two hours maximum. This can be argued to be the culture of most of these Pentecostal churches, and a definitive characteristic of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal church in Britain. In as much as predominantly white Pentecostal churches to a

certain degree have these characteristics as described earlier as being part of Pentecostal church culture, most African Pentecostal churches in Africa hold services with much longer duration. When these African Pentecostal churches set up branches or their leaders set up branches, cultural context in which they operate differ. Work patterns and times at which people go to work influence the time and duration of services. There were instances during the services where people came in late from work in their work uniforms whilst others left to go to work before the service officially ended.³⁴⁴ Awareness of this trend would make the leadership make adjustments to their services as most of the migrant members do a rotational shift and Sundays happen to be a day of work for some of them. In the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches studied, there is a conscious effort to attract non-Ghanaian and non-African members, although they have not as yet succeeded with that objective. This is partly because the services are organised in a way that reflect the current cultural context. The churches' organisation and services suggests a pattern, that the churches considered as branches in Britain with headquarters in Ghana such as RCI and ICGC have some similarities in church culture, while those established by pastors who already lived in Britain and were exposed to the British way of life such FCI and DC also share a similar church culture which is different from RCI and ICGC.

A preliminary conclusion may be that the personal outlook of the pastors of these churches – itself influenced by their cultural exposure – plays a major role in developing of the culture of these churches. The other conclusion is that strong ties to mother churches in Ghana influence the culture in these churches and ultimately these affect the speed with which these churches integrate into British society by adapting to the British way of doing things. In both cases, churches are quite different, although they have varying degrees of likeness to the Pentecostal

³⁴⁴ An observation made about the punctuality and time keeping of the churches.

church culture in Britain. The churches seem to have an identity that is an amalgamation of cultural values from both Ghana and Britain. This new identity is not limited to the church culture but is also reflected in their messages. An example of this is their message on the issue of cohabitation and marriage.

3.5.2 Co-habitation and the Marriage of Convenience

Marriages and weddings in Africa are spiritual, economic and social affairs that involve the coming together of two independent lives, two distinct families and even two communities. The fundamentals of nation building have always involved marriage, as the well being of individuals affects families and families make up the population. The soundness of an individual influences significantly and collectively the soundness of a community and of the nation as a whole. Marriage is a rite of passage that is very much cherished and celebrated because it is considered to bring new life and hope into the family and community. It is often characterised by a series of celebrations notably marked by eating drinking and making merry. An extended family system, which normally encompasses the entire community, is important in a marriage in Ghana, as they are often involved in sharing responsibilities of rites to mark the occasion. In instances where a woman is unable to have her own biological children, her role as a mother is often accepted. This role of motherhood for women without children may not be the same in every community as in some cases the individual's social status determines the kind of treatment she receives as a woman without children.³⁴⁵ It is without question that in most instances the whole community considers that it has a collective

³⁴⁵ Describing the African marriage from http://www.africanholocaust.net/news_ah/africanmarriageritual.html, accessed on 11 May 2013.

responsibility in contracting marriages and even bringing up the offspring. The popular Akan adage 'baakofo ntiti abofra' means that an individual does not do the bringing up of children.

There is always a cultural shock regarding how British society regards marriage in general. In spite of the fact that there are so many similarities with the African system of marriage where a man and a woman living together in a sexual relationship, are expected to have performed the necessary rites and duly recognised by society as husband and wife. one has to be a conservative British person to hold on to the kind of ideals that most Africans hold about marriage. Migrants are sometimes completely put off by their exposure to this cultural difference, but like all other elements of the British culture that seems opposed to the their religious beliefs and cultural orientation, in the course of time they accept it and become participants in the culture. In most British communities it is acceptable for a man and woman to live together and even have children without having to be formally married. Some of these couples eventually get married but it is not an issue to be frowned upon by many people. It should be noted that people do sometimes live together as a couple without being formally married in Ghana but there are cultural penalties to it that deters people. For instance in the Akan culture when a woman dies whilst living with a man who has not as yet performed the marriage rites, although parents and families of the couple may be aware and approve of their living together, the man is made to perform the marriage rites of the dead woman, becoming the husband of the dead woman. After these marriage rites have been performed, since the man has now become the husband of the dead woman, he is also made to go through the widower-hood rites and consequently made to shoulder the cost of the funeral, as any husband would organise the funeral of a spouse. This is one reason that sometimes makes people think it is much simpler to rather get properly married before living together and having children because in the event of this eventuality, the cost is sometimes too high to bear.

On one hand whilst one may think that cultural values should inform the choices people make concerning their decisions to live with another person, some migrants practice co-habitation because of the lack of penalties in their current context. In an informal conversation with certain young people in the churches, some of them were living with people they were not married to. There was an acknowledgement that this carries its own penalties: should there be a pregnancy whilst unmarried and one of the couple has a visible role to play in church then the rules of the church to suspend an individual may apply. This is one thing that seems to depict the churches as hypocritical in their application of the rules of morality. It is also a difficult situation for the churches to deal with without supportive legislation, in a country of rule of law where individuals have many rights. The church only falls on its moral authority to affirm and in some cases enforce these spiritual-moral rules. For instance ‘marriage is compounded by the social culture of the ‘baby-mama’ syndrome.’³⁴⁶ This according to some experts is a manifestation of immaturity and lack of moral responsibility’.³⁴⁷ In the past the reason why young couples had children was to help them on to the social housing ladder, as it was much easier for the council to give an expecting single mother a flat than to provide the same for a married couple. The Conservative government led by David Cameron is seeking to change this state of affairs because of the economic burden they create, not necessarily because of the spiritual implications.³⁴⁸ However, unlike the position of the politicians, the stance of these Pentecostal churches to discourage people from cohabiting is from a spiritual perspective. They teach abstinence from sex until marriage often quoting Hebrews 13:4 ‘Marriage *is* honourable among all, and the bed undefiled; but fornicators and adulterers God

³⁴⁶ Baby-Momma Syndrome is a street term widely in African-Caribbean communities to refer to a woman who has the child of a man she’s unmarried to and there is no intention to marry.

³⁴⁷ Describing the African marriage from http://www.africanholocaust.net/news_ah/africanmarriageritual.html, accessed on 11 May 2013.

³⁴⁸ Newspaper news item featuring the plans of the government on giving tax breaks to married couples, to avoid people living as partners with the fear they lose their tax breaks when married.

will judge'.³⁴⁹ However this has not deterred migrants from getting themselves involved in such relationships. It is more of a cultural change that those involved look at the economic or social benefits rather than the spiritual aspects. Migrants in spite of their spiritual convictions may be prone to cohabit for socio-economic reasons due to the difficulties they face, even though churches provide assistance as discussed chapter 2.

Another dimension to this is that there are instances where, for the convenience of obtaining the necessary resident permit to stay in Britain legally, migrants marry British citizens to afford them the opportunity to live in the country. From the case study churches, pastors mentioned these are not issues that are addressed openly as it has become an established way of obtaining residence permits. According to one pastor, although it is not condoned they choose not to talk openly about it as it could make people feel condemned and eventually leave the church.³⁵⁰ What they have chosen to do is to introduce them to the opportunities available through the immigration forums organized by the churches. It is important to note however that not every one lives with a partner for the purposes of getting onto the social housing ladder or obtaining a resident permit.³⁵¹ There are those who are genuinely in love but cannot afford a wedding: because of the kind of wedding they dream of is expensive and they have to live together and wait until they have saved enough. In some African societies like Ghana, weddings can be equally as elaborate, involving feasting and dancing for days within a community. They can be very simple, or they can even be performed in huge marriage ceremonies involving many different couples. But one fundamental issue regarding weddings is that, since people live communally, some family members who have some

³⁴⁹ Scripture quotation is taken from the New King James Version.

³⁵⁰ Ghanaian-led Pentecostal pastors (Pastor S, Pastor L and Pastor J) interviewed on 09 January 2013.

³⁵¹ See an article by Ian Dunt, '*Tories Call for Pregnant Teenagers to lose Housing Benefit Right*' at <http://www.politics.co.uk/news/2013/07/15/tories-call-for-pregnant-teenagers-to-lose-housing-benefit-r>, accessed on 18 July 2013.

responsibility for the couple who are getting married take up the cost of these elaborate weddings. In more conservative traditional areas a couple living together without performing the rites is an abomination. As a result the entire society takes responsibility for the marriage: women who are ready for marriage are given tutorials on how to have successful and happy marriages.³⁵² People take a collective responsibility for the marriages and that normally includes cost.

The adoption of the Ghanaian-Akan culture in the practice of marriage of Ghanaians in the churches is a confirmation of the strong transnational ties these churches share. The link between the practices of the churches to the practice in Ghana is found in the traditional marriage celebration normally referred to as ‘engagement’, and the follow-up of the church wedding, which sometimes takes place sometimes hours apart from each other. Also this leads to the examination of the extent to which these churches have contextualised their beliefs and practices as discussed in chapter 4. The practice of cohabitation by the Ghanaian Pentecostal does not only violate the law of God as the conservatives would claim but it also points to the loosening of the grip of cultural ties of the place of origin on these members of these new societies. In spite of how cohabitation and marriage is generally considered and viewed in the Pentecostal community, these oscillations of religious and social convictions which sometimes polarise communities because of their differing views and perceptions is a sign of the exposure to a new culture. The attempt of the individuals caught up in oscillations at the different ends of the multicultural pendulum have to find a way to adapt in order to integrate into the community. The decisions that are made by the individual may on their part be the way to negotiate the terms of their stay in Britain as migrants, independent of what others judge them to be, either from a religious or socio-political perspective. It is not

³⁵² Describing the African marriage from http://www.africanholocaust.net/news_ah/africanmarriageritual.html, accessed on 11 May 2013.

suggested that it is an easy process, as some may have to abandon their religious beliefs or cultural orientation in order to enable them integrate through sharing vital affinities with other members of the British society.

3.5.3 Personal Giving and Money Management

One issue with a multi-cultural dimension that helps in defining identity is migrants' culture of parting with money and how they manage their money in general. Most African societies are communal in nature which means that what belongs to one belongs to the community. As seen in section 3.3.2 even children born into the community are children for everyone. Any adult at all in the community can ask any young person at all to run an errand for them, in return this person can be invited to eat in the home of that particular adult or even be given a gift. People serve one another in the community they also share in their responsibility for one another. Even with economic and technological advancement and the cultural influences of individualism from the west, not much has changed. During times of rites of passage such as naming ceremonies at a birth popularly known as outdooring, marriage ceremonies such as weddings and engagements which is normally the traditional marriage ceremonies, funerals for the dead, most people celebrate with giving of gifts and providing other forms of support. Giving to one another is fundamental to the collective cultural value that people hold and also holds them together as one people. Giving is seen as a way of showing responsibility as well as being a social insurance scheme where those who support others in times of need will themselves be supported when in need.³⁵³

³⁵³ Fumanti, "Virtuous Citizenship," 13-42.

Some of the Pentecostal churches in Africa are self-financing. Being self-financing means that they have no links with churches abroad that give them aid in financing their activities and projects and they do not accept any form of assistance from foreign churches and parachurch organisations. Pastors and the church leadership encourage members using scriptural texts to give towards projects and to the leadership of the churches. At a point in the development of the Pentecostal charismatic movement, there was an emergence of a pan-Africanist wave which was led by Mensa Otabil the founder of ICGC Ghana, who encouraged not only his members but also other pastors under his sphere of influence to reject foreign donations from richer and bigger Pentecostal churches abroad and to take the destiny of their churches into their own hands and into the hands of God.³⁵⁴³⁵⁵ He taught that accepting foreign aid was a new form of colonisation by western religious powers. In a related issue in 1995 shortly after which he passed away, Lester Sumrall was in Ghana with aid to distribute to the communities and his local anchors to coordinate the distribution of the aid were the Bishop Nicholas Duncan Williams of Action Chapel and Apostle Yaw Adu of House Prayer Church International in Koforidua.³⁵⁶ Sumrall was an influential American Evangelist who was considered as one of the pioneers of Christian television.³⁵⁷ Towards the latter part of his life he was engaged in organising food aid to parts of Africa. On their arrival most Pastors and leaders of the Pentecostal charismatic fraternity were there but notably absent was Mensa Otabil.³⁵⁸ Otabil's absence at the meeting was attributed to the aid that was brought by these foreign donors. So strong was this view that in 1998 when Central University College obtained accreditation to operate as a university college in Ghana, a popular Pentecostal

³⁵⁴ The content of papers given at the ICGC Heritage lectures up until 1999, held in Accra and Kumasi on yearly basis promoted Pan-Africanism.

³⁵⁵ A sermon preached at the Chapel Service of the Central University College in November 1998.

³⁵⁶ The researcher was at Koforidua at the time and witnessed the setting up of the local coordination committee.

³⁵⁷ The biography and works of Lester Sumrall found at <http://www.lesea.com/tribute/harvest.htm>, accessed on 12 May 2013.

³⁵⁸ Information provided by a member of the ICGC Ghana Presbytery. The informant is also a close friend of Mensa Otabil. Information confirmed on 10 May 2013 by a telephone conversation.

church in the United States intended to make a donation of about 50 computers to the school's computer laboratory but their gesture was rejected.³⁵⁹ Instead around that same time, Matthew Ashimolowo, the Nigerian Pastor and founder of KICC in London made a donation of 80 computers that was accepted and announced in the church in Accra and at the school.³⁶⁰ It was a gesture that was accepted because it came from an African source. Another recent occurrence was when Mensa Otabil went to speak at the newly built Perez Chapel of the Word Miracle Church International led by Bishop Charles Agyin-Asare. Mensa Otabil made a comment to congratulate the church for their contributions to building the house of God and said that the edifice they have built would have taken years by the Government of Ghana to build even with aid from abroad.³⁶¹ This comment was received with much cheers and shouts from the congregation. The pan-Africanist views notwithstanding, most African countries including Ghana, in particular run their economies virtually on aid from foreign donors and there are churches that accept foreign aid either directly or indirectly from rich church in Europe and the United States.³⁶² Some of these churches in Ghana are equally doing well.

Most of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches are self-financed and self-managed apart from a few like the Lighthouse Chapel International whose branches receive support from their headquarters in Accra because a percentage of their income goes to Ghana.

Apart from this example, RCI, ICGC, FCI, DC raise all the monies needed for projects within the church from the members of the church. Due to the fact that most of their members are

³⁵⁹ Information was given by Rev Julius Dake who was the Public Relations officer of Central University College between 1997- 2001.

³⁶⁰ The researcher got this information as a pastor of the ICGC Ghana at the time of the donations to the Central University College.

³⁶¹ A sermon by Mensa Otabil on the title; "Fruitful in Affliction," at the Breakthrough Extraordinary Conference at the Word Miracle Church in 2011. The sermon is found at http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4R_CfjCj4yI, accessed on 12 May 2013.

³⁶² Lindsay Whitfield, "The State Elite, PRSP s and Policy Implementation in Aid-dependent Ghana," *Third World Quarterly* 31, no. 5 (2010): 721-737.

predominantly Ghanaian, their support for church community from their country of origin is meant to have an influence on their giving in support of the churches. Then there comes the situation in Britain, where most pastors I interact with claim people do not give: this is not just in reference to members of the church but also in reference to the general public. This is a subjective analysis of the situation depending on who you are and where you find yourself. Some of the pastors recounted their experience with giving at their places of work where during special celebratory occasions by colleagues at the office, managers and other staff members asked other staff to donate, and to their amazement, it was all coins. According to my informant the amount collected at the office did not exceed £50, so for them the British do not have the same level support for community projects. Quite surprisingly one mentioned the issue of the financial malfeasance charges that were levelled against Matthew Ashimolowo where he was asked to repay the amount of money the church used to buy him a car among other gifts on his birthday. Contrary to what this informant claims, an article in April 2009 carried by the Guardian newspaper states from its own research that:

Charity Commission investigators of financial irregularities; Ashimolowo was ordered to repay £200,000 after it emerged he used church assets to buy a £13,000 Florida timeshare and given £120,000 on his birthday celebrations, including £80,000 on a car.³⁶³

According to my informant, the further changes and amendments introduced by the charity commission in allowing charity trustees to be those who also serve as pastors of the church attests to the acknowledgment of the African way of life regarding giving.³⁶⁴ This informant does not seem to know that Ashimolowo was asked to step down from the board of trustees

³⁶³ An Article titled, “Richer than St Paul's: church that attracts 8,000 congregation to a disused cinema” <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/11/kingsway-international-christian-centre>, accessed on 12 May 2013.

³⁶⁴ A respondent who happens to own an Accountancy firm that handles the accounts of some churches in London.

and a new board elected to run the Trust, as suggested by the Guardian newspaper. As to whether this was an admittance of guilt it is not known. Giving in the churches is high as the Guardian's research on the church showed. They state in comparative terms to the Church of England that:

...church's wealth stems largely from the donations it encourages from its 8,000-strong largely African and Caribbean congregation. They gave £9.5m in tithes and offerings in the 18 months to April 2008, dwarfing the £33,000 that the average Church of England congregation gave over the same period.³⁶⁵

The statistics is staggering in comparing giving in a typical African Pentecostal church to a predominantly white church, however the Church of England has black members too. Those of the Anglican Communion in other parts of the world including Africa continue to worship in Church of England churches in Britain. Not all African Pentecostal Churches are so rich and have such generous members, because giving can also be related to the kind of jobs the members do for instance. A member of the church interviewed by the Guardian said that;

People give because of how they have been blessed by what they receive from the church the teaching, the prayer and the church community," said Soji Otudeko, Director of finance. "People give voluntarily and because of their love of the work of God."³⁶⁶

This statement shifts the focus of giving in the churches by the members from a transnational perspective to a giving that is merely based on the understanding of spiritual principles as taught by the pastors and leaders from the scriptures. It is a generalisation and there is not always evidence to suggest that the situation with regards to giving in one church can be generalised to all African churches. Giving in the churches I observed is quite high, having

³⁶⁵ An Article titled, "Richer than St Paul's: church that attracts 8,000 congregation to a disused cinema," <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2009/apr/11/kingsway-international-christian-centre>, accessed on 12 May 2013.

³⁶⁶ "Richer than St Paul's: church that attracts 8,000 congregation to a disused cinema," accessed on 12.05.13.

looked at the annual reports and accounts submitted to the Charity Commission.³⁶⁷ This seems to be the reason why these churches (apart from RCI) are able to buy huge buildings for the conversion into places of worship. An observation with regards to giving in the churches is that, in as much as giving in the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches can be considered higher than the average predominant white congregation, it is also acknowledged by pastors and leaders that the members do not actually give as they would have if they were in Ghana. This is put down to the social influence of British society. The other reason can also be the commitment migrant members of the churches have towards their relatives and families in Ghana. The result of this influence is a new identity in giving which is neither wholly British nor Ghanaian.

3.6 Summary and Discussion

In Britain various policies, laws and rules are established to make sure that the qualified migrants are allowed into the country to make a contribution to building its society. As a result, specific strategies are put in place to help these migrants integrate into British society. It is reckoned that until migrants have fully integrated they would not be able to make their contribution to their host communities. However further studies and understanding of the life of the migrant and the processes of integration brought about various changes in the rhetoric of integration using the term assimilation. Ultimately in spite of the struggle to find appropriate terms to describe this process of integration, by examining policies and rules migrants were encouraged to take personal responsibility in the process of integration. The Home Office together with United Kingdom Border Agency established 'Life In The UK

³⁶⁷ A look up on Charity Commission website of the churches accounts using their charity names.

Test' for instance, which every migrant applying for settlement in Britain must pass in order to proceed with his or her application. From the point of view of politicians, this is with the intention of assisting migrants to integrate but it is perceived by the migrant as nothing but a money making scheme by the government from those who make a decision to remain in Britain.

Over time it became evident that most of the regulations and policies were initiatives derived from the perspective of the politicians and policy makers but do not necessarily take into account how the migrants themselves see as the process of integration. A gap therefore emerged which other civil society groups and non-governmental organisations stepped up to fill. The Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches, which have a considerable amount of migrants, see and experience first hand the challenges migrants face as they make their efforts to integrate into British society. As a result they set up their own initiatives to assist their migrant members. Most of the initiatives to assist their members to integrate are internal in nature. These initiatives have included: welfare assistance to migrants in the form of financial hand-outs; holding immigration and nationality forums to inform members of how to regularise their stay and prevent falling foul of the law; organising personal development and leadership training for members to give them tools for personal effectiveness and to increase their confidence, which is considered the key to success in every area of endeavour; and financial empowerment and business workshops. The churches have also used external training agencies to bring information and skill development to the members. As part of this the churches have used both local speakers and international speakers with strong ties to their communities.

In delivering the training, and disseminating information to the migrant members, the churches use various media platforms to train and disseminate information to their migrant members. These initiatives have included selling video productions of church services and buying airtime on the various Christian Television Networks on the Sky platform. The proliferation of Christian TV networks has somehow served as an impetus for these churches in their quest to train and educate members. However a critical examination of their dependence on the media reveals that, instead of the migrants being beneficiaries of the programmes, they are also the funders of the productions: it is the pastors that get promoted, it is God that is advertised, and the church that is out-doored to the world as part of the motives fro their media broadcasts. It is not being suggested that these three main areas of focus by the churches were intended but in this does seem to be what can be observed.

Eventually the intention of the churches is that these media initiatives will assist their members to integrate into British society and in the process develop a Ghanaian-British identity. Transnationalism holds that the migrant is supposed to maintain ties, including a cultural tie, and creating a Ghanaian-British identity has to do with taking on some aspects of the British culture and fusing it with Ghanaian culture. Therefore the migrants develop an identity that is neither wholly Ghanaian nor wholly British. It is evident that the process of developing this identity is not always easy as there are times migrants are caught between their religious convictions from their transnational ties and the culture of their host community. There are contrasts between the practices in the churches of their places of origin and the church culture in Britain. For instance there may be issues around co-habitation and marriages of convenience; there is also the issue of personal giving set against money management and its appropriation in the culture of origin and the culture of settlement. In

spite of the fact that most of these migrants seem to be caught up this cultural dilemma, others choose to integrate by taking on some aspects of the culture, creating a unique identity.

CHAPTER FOUR

CONTEXTUALISATION: CONTINUITY AND DISCONTINUITY OF AFRICAN PENTECOSTAL CHRISTIANITY IN THE SETTLED COMMUNITY

4.1 Introduction

The theory of transnationalism states that immigrants forge and sustain simultaneous and multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement.³⁶⁸ As a consequence, Pentecostal churches in Britain that are led by these migrant pastors and also host these migrants are partly shaped in their outlook by the beliefs and practices of Pentecostal churches from their countries of origin. Therefore an insight into the beliefs and practices of the Pentecostal churches in their countries of origin would provide a basis to explore similarities and differences with the beliefs and praxis of the Pentecostal churches in Britain, except that the approach and agency in the respective countries may differ due to the different socio-cultural milieu within which these churches are situated. At the same time, it is important to note that the beliefs and practices of the Pentecostal churches in the countries of origin have somehow been influenced by their socio-cultural milieu. The starting point of any enquiry is to identify the specific elements of beliefs and practices within the Pentecostal churches that have been influenced by the beliefs and practices of the indigenous religions in the countries of origin.

³⁶⁸ Cristina Szanton Blanc, Linda Basch, and Nina Glick Schiller, "Transnationalism, Nation-States, and Culture," *Current Anthropology* 36, no. 4 (1995): 683-686.

In summary, Pentecostal churches in Ghana and therefore the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain carry within their ecclesiastical framework and understanding, elements that are uniquely Ghanaian because of the Ghanaian indigenous religious influence. At the same time the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches have introduced elements that are also uniquely British. The influence from the culture of both the places of origin and of settlement reveals the uniqueness of these Pentecostal churches.

These churches can neither be described as wholly Ghanaian nor wholly British. In this chapter, there is both the narrative and an analysis of specific elements of continuity of Ghanaian-led Pentecostal church practices in Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain. The analysis has been done by establishing the link between the practices of indigenous religions, Pentecostal churches in Ghana and Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain. The indigenous religion examined is that of the Akan of Ghana. The Akan are the largest ethnic group in Ghana and have been chosen for this analysis because their core religious ideas are similar to other ethnic groups in Ghana and to traditional African worldviews more generally.³⁶⁹ On the basis of transnationalism theory this influence of indigenous religions on Pentecostal churches in Ghana extends to Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in the UK. I posit in this chapter that the differences in praxis between Pentecostal churches in Ghana and in the UK occur as a result of the socio-cultural milieu of Britain and therefore the difference between practices at the places of origin and settlement become an indicator of the extent of contextualization by Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches and consequently the relevance of these churches in British society.

³⁶⁹ Emmanuel Kingsley Larbi, "The Nature of Continuity and Discontinuity of Ghanaian Pentecostal Concept of Salvation in African Cosmology," *Asian Journal of Pentecostal Studies* 5, no. 1 (2002): 88.

4.2 Prophetic Consultation

One of the principal responsibilities of pastors is counselling members of their churches through various life challenges on the basis of the teachings, principles and narratives of the Bible, which is usually upheld strongly by Pentecostals as the word of God. In many Christian circles this counselling involves the use of scripture and wisdom to bring suggestions of solutions to the problems that people face. There is evidence that there has been a tension in the past between forms of counselling that has a spiritual dimension and the psychotherapeutic techniques employed by ‘secular’ counsellors. Counselling that incorporates the spirituality of the individual and a person’s belief in the spiritual is often central to pastoral counselling.³⁷⁰ This type of counselling emphasises a form of dialogue and communication through the use of scriptures and scriptural narratives to alleviate the distress of a counselee within the context of pastoral ministry. Thorne underscores this, noting that:

.... We are seeing the beginning of a great merger operation with increasing numbers of secular therapists acknowledging the importance of their clients’ spirituality and many pastoral counsellors being only too keen to shake themselves free from the institutional or doctrinal straitjackets of their faith communities.³⁷¹

As the clear demarcation between the two is being erased for a more inclusive approach, some pastoral counsellors seem to be finding ways of making the distinction even clearer by shifting to one end of the spectrum. Clinebell notes that;

Pastoral counselling is the utilisation of a variety of healing (therapeutic) methods to help people handle their problems and crises in a more developmental way, and in doing so experience healing of their brokenness. Pastoral counselling is a reparative function needed when the

³⁷⁰ Brian Thorne, “The prophetic nature of pastoral counselling,” *British Journal of Guidance & Counselling* 29, 4 (2000): 435-445.

³⁷¹ Thorne, “The prophetic nature of pastoral counseling,” 435-445.

growth of individuals is seriously jeopardised or blocked by crises.³⁷²

This sums up the process of pastoral counselling. People tend to consult counsellors when life is difficult and they need direction, hope and even a solution. A new form of counselling is emerging which involves the use ‘prophetic insight’ delivered to men of God from the Spirit – as they claim – as bringing the authoritative instruction to solve a problem. In addition to what Clinebell describes as the nature of pastoral counselling, prophetic counselling places the crisis the individual faces within the context of the spiritual, claiming that the source of the crisis and the barrier to growth is in the spirit world. Within the context of this counselling the servant of God, as an agent of God is able to diagnose and give full instructions as to what needs to be done. In the instance of the latter, the counselee is somehow compelled to implement in full what they have been told: not carrying out the instructions in full would mean depriving oneself of experiencing a complete solution and ultimately disobeying the instructions of God. The down side as in many cases is that the counselee becomes subject to control not only by the ‘Spirit’ but also by the men of God. In many Pentecostal churches, the counselling process begins with the member making an appointment to meet with the pastor at a chosen venue. As part of the process, the pastor is able to convey to the counselee a message from the Spirit about that particular situation. This practice of consultation and the subsequent solicitation of information from the Spirit has been a practice of the indigenous religions and have influenced Pentecostal church practices. However, this sits in contrast to assertions made by scholars such as Thorne that more and more people are choosing to go to secular therapists because most secular therapist acknowledges the spirituality of their clients. According to Thorne the main reason for this disassociation from religious entities is that

³⁷² Howard, Clinebell, *Basic types of Pastoral Care Counselling: Resources for the Ministry of Healing and Growth* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1984), 26.

people feel more comfortable to be referred to as spiritual rather than religious.³⁷³ For migrants, choosing a counsellor with a contemporary understanding of their spirituality is problematic: they are looking for something deeper than just an acknowledgement of their spirituality or even reaching deep within oneself for answers, as is the case with the secular-spiritual therapist. Whilst there is no suggestion that Pentecostals completely reject ‘secular’ counselling, these new Pentecostal clients or members are looking for a deeper spiritual experience that involves action and a tangible response as evidence of having contacted the spirit world. Therefore any suggestion that this sort of pastoral-prophetic counselling is not patronised by people can be deemed inaccurate. In fact, more and more Pentecostals seek this sort of pastoral-prophetic counselling. And they refer to it as prophetic counselling.

The source of this kind of prophetic counselling practice by the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches is embedded in the belief of spiritual causation. Spiritual causation is an inextricable part of most societies in sub-Saharan Africa and particularly the life of the Akan. As a result of the cosmology that everything originates from the spirit and every physical occurrence or event is set in motion by spiritual entities, the Akan, through the agent and agency of the spirit, seek to gain knowledge of this cause. This quest predisposes them to divination. Spiritual causation also becomes the framework with which most situations are interpreted. The question that is often asked in the diagnosis of a problem in the context of an African cosmology is ‘who or what caused this?’, rather than the questions ‘what is this?’ or ‘why?’ which characterise a western approach. It tends to be when a situation is recurring that spiritual knowledge is sought in order to deal with it. For the Akan a recurring circumstance is considered to have a spiritual cause, generating a demand for its remedy and future prevention. The actions normally taken involve the performance of rituals. It is now

³⁷³Thorne, “*The Prophetic nature of pastoral counselling*,” 436.

established that the corresponding practice of divination in the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches is what is described as prophetic consultation. The corresponding ritual actions that are undertaken in the indigenous religions to appease spirits or to avert evil are renamed as prophetic actions within the Pentecostal churches. It is worth noting that historically this is not entirely new in its essence as the AICs (African Initiated Churches) introduced it into Ghanaian Christianity, and it was developed further at prayer camps where leaders, often referred to as 'Papa Odiyifo' or 'Maame Odiyifo', which translates as prophet or prophetess, have days of meeting one to one with adherents to enquire of the Spirit for them.³⁷⁴

4.2.1 Prophetic Consultation in Ghana

Divination as practiced in African indigenous religions is done not only to understand negative events of the past but also to enquire into: present events whose causes cannot be explained; things unknown and hidden from the naked eye or even removed from one's cognitive recognition; determining the appropriate conduct of persons in critical situations such as the healing of illness or epidemics; determining the times and modes of religious worship; and making decisions about persons to occupy important positions of responsibility and about future events.³⁷⁵

The practice of divination takes different forms among different communities within Akan states. Practitioners of different shrines administer the process of divination in its own unique form and this differs significantly from one area to another. The nature and role of the deity

³⁷⁴ Papa Odiyifo and Maame Odiyifo titles are normally given to accomplished spiritual leaders who are claimed to possess the ability to enquire of the spirit on behalf of people. This was much prevalent in the AICs which some have referred to as 'spiritist' churches or sumsum sore.

³⁷⁵ Barbara Tedlock, "Divination as a Way of Knowing: Embodiment, Visualisation, Narrative, and Interpretation," *Folklore* 112, no. 2 (2001), 189.

consulted also has a big influence on the process of divination. For instance in communities whose totem is a goat, a goat would not be prescribed and accepted for a sacrifice by the priest who sits as an agent for the deity being consulted at that point in time.

As part of the divination process, the priests who are agents of the deity use cowries; others use kola; ring bells; and chant. These items are just representative and used as mediums in soliciting information from the spirit. ‘Others use certain herbs but one thing common to all of them is that the symbols they adopt to use at any particular time become the medium through which they access hidden knowledge present in the spirit world’.³⁷⁶

4.2.2 Prophetic Consultation in Britain

The practice of seeking the cause of evil occurrences and obtaining the relevant power and direction to deal with them and avert a similar future reoccurrence, as well as the search to know what lies ahead in one’s life, (popularly referred to as destiny (*‘hyεbre’*)) through divination, as in the indigenous religions, has been referred to as ‘prophetism’ in Pentecostalism³⁷⁷. ‘Prophetism’ is practiced and accepted in RCI, FCI, DC, ICGC in Britain to a large extent although the leaders may deny and distance themselves from the use of this label due to excesses in these practices within the Pentecostal church body. However, the pastors of these churches at some point in their lives tell counselees or the entire church about what God is indicating, requiring some kind of action from the members. These churches also invite other pastors recognised as prophets to their churches to speak at least once a year. The reason they would deny the label of ‘prophetism’ is to distance themselves from the earlier

³⁷⁶ Appiah, “Christianity in Indigenous Cultures,” 36.

³⁷⁷ Omenyo, “Man of God Prophecy Unto Me,” 30.

strand of Pentecostal churches that were referred to as *spiritual* churches or the *sumsum sore* as they are described in Akan, that had this practice as an integral part of their worship.³⁷⁸

Meyer summarises the efforts of Pentecostals to break away from their past and notes that:

Current Pentecostalist discourse clearly takes up this temporalising strategy. By emphasizing continuously that being born again entails a complete break with the past, Pentecostals even celebrate the notion of rupture much more than nineteenth and early twentieth-century protestant missionaries.³⁷⁹

It is worth noting that in spite of this conscious effort being made by Pentecostals to break away from the past, there is overwhelming evidence that indigenous religions have provided the platform from which the Pentecostals have interpreted scripture to their members. They are closer in beliefs and practices to the *sumsum sore* that they vehemently seek to disassociate themselves from. So on one hand they are breaking away from the past and on the other they are making use of the indigenous cultural framework to highlight the biblical passages and narratives that speak to specific situations within their local contexts. This interaction and internal struggle reveals within the Pentecostal self-understanding a theological concern that leaves the churches exposed to a theological debate about the place of their practices in scripture. This entanglement occurs where Pentecostals attempt to use scripture to explain their beliefs and praxis as against the traditional beliefs and practices of indigenous religions. Pentecostals would have to show their difference from the past as completely dissociated from the AICs to be considered as a new movement. It must be said however that this could prove difficult. Therefore it is reasonable to state that Ghanaian Pentecostals would find it difficult to detach themselves totally from the indigenous religions.

³⁷⁸ Anderson, *African Reformation*, p. 76.

³⁷⁹ Meyer, "Make a Complete Break with the past," 316-349.

4.2.2.1 The Theological Controversy Created by the Prophetic Consultations

The Pentecostals have given this practice of prophetic consultation, otherwise known in the indigenous religions as divination, a theological perspective by finding a way to locate their practices in scripture. In Pentecostal churches that are prophet-led, this is a welcomed practice and defended with scriptures such as Saul enquiring from the Prophet Samuel about his father's lost donkeys. In the biblical narrative of 1 Samuel 9: 1-8, Saul is advised by his accompanying servant to see Samuel, a Seer, to ask about the whereabouts of the donkey. They did this, and Samuel indeed told them that the donkey has been found.

Scriptures such as 2 Chronicles 20:20 are also quoted to support this practice. In this text, Jehoshaphat admonishes the people to believe in the prophets of God to be successful in their battle. This scripture has often been used to expand the influence and authority of these men of God over those who approach them in their office as men appointed by God. These individuals tend to make their voice heard through the media, and in some instance hold governments and heads of governments to ransom. They are convinced that their counsels have to be heeded for any individual who seeks them to be successful in their life's endeavours. For many who attend consultations with these men of God it is among other things to seek *akwankyerε (divine direction)* to negotiate through the difficulties of life successfully by means of knowledge of the future, through the agency of the Spirit.

In some of these prophet-led churches, prophetic consultations are held every day of the week depending on the nature of the solutions and prophetic directions being sought through the agency of the gifts of the Spirit.³⁸⁰ Whilst some members report finding this practice helpful,

³⁸⁰ An informant at the Global Light International Mission at Tottenham in North London told me prophetic consultation is an integral part of the pastor's ministry to the members and others outside of the church. According to him there are even times that consultations run into the night.

there are others who have been negatively affected, with families torn apart by reckless *akwankyerε* given to people that creates even more problems for them in the end.³⁸¹ Some of the *akwankyerε* have been involved in pointing out family members who are behind the misfortunes of these people and therefore considered as evil. The practice of prophetic consultation in the churches is reminiscent of the divination process in indigenous religions, where sometimes, human agents of evil spirits are sometimes identified to be behind the struggles and failures of certain individuals. The practice of prophetic consultation as seen in the scripture from 1 Samuel 9:1-8 is practiced to the letter in some Pentecostal churches, in the following three respects:

- i. Involves paying money as consultation fees
- ii. Authoritative and compulsive declaration of the ‘mind of God’; and
- iii. A dramatic result driven expectation – ‘the another person experience’.

These Pentecostals without any proper exegesis or even hermeneutical considerations take these three areas of practice verbatim from the scriptures.³⁸² The scriptures are taken literally and practiced, in some cases to the detriment of the counselee. All the churches studies do subscribe to the (ii) and (iii) above, but do not collect consultation fees as part of the consultation process.³⁸³ However, there are Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain that practice prophetic consultation with consultation fees often referred to as a ‘ministry gift’. Apart from the ‘ministry gift’ given before consulting the man of God, at the end of the consultation the counselee is also encouraged to give willingly according to the help they

³⁸¹ A Ghanaian-owned Internet radio that hosts a show that discusses the problems of Ghanaians in the UK, had a caller call to complain about how a prophet told her that her Aunt who brought her to the UK was possessed with a Maame Water spirit and was the cause of her barrenness.

³⁸² The processes mentioned above is the framework based on the scriptural text: 1 Samuel 9:1-8, often used by the prophets, who visits the churches, to explain actually happens at these consultations.

³⁸³ An observation made at ICGC, FCI, RCI, and DC during special programs with prophets as guests speakers.

have received from the servant of God. There have even been occasions where individuals have been asked to give specific amounts for some specific solutions. However according to the former pastor of the Global Light Mission International, Pastor Okyere, the time the servant of God spends with the counselee is not fixed but most of the time it does not exceed 30 minutes. They teach that what provokes a proclamation or prophecy is the gift that the counselee brings to the servant of God, based on the view that Saul's gift to Samuel caused the meeting to be a life changing moment for Saul. The veracity of this teaching is uncertain, as there are numerous examples where prophets in the Bible have proclaimed the word of God without a gift being traded for the prophecy. Indeed, when one looks at the passage from which these scriptures are extracted, this teaching becomes untenable because verse 15 states that the Lord had already spoken to Samuel before Saul came to him, therefore the gift that Saul gave to Samuel did not provoke the prophecy. Samuel had already received instructions from the Lord before any form of gift was handed to him. And with regard to Saul becoming 'another person' as a result of his encounter with Samuel, this was God's own sovereign act and had nothing to do with Saul himself or his action of giving. God let the people have their own way because they requested a new king, not because Saul fulfilled the requirements.³⁸⁴

These actions on the part of Pentecostals represent a trend where scriptural narratives are translated into illustrations of a spiritualised understanding of the scriptures. This may not necessarily be a theological position, except that one takes the view that theology is the discourse of God in one's particular situation. Perceiving the scriptures as the word of God means taking verbatim what it says and making it speak into one's personal circumstances

³⁸⁴ John F. Walwood and Roy B. Zuck, *The Bible Knowledge Commentary: An Exposition of the Scriptures*. (Colorado Springs, Chariot Victor Publishing, 1985), 440-441.

irrespective of the contextual issues that arise.³⁸⁵ In that sense, individuals control the construction of their theologies on the basis of personal circumstances without recourse to scholarly theological analysis, and in the course of time those beliefs and practices are passed on to the church and institutionalised. The result is a theological entanglement brought about by their controversial positions. This at times brings about isolation within the Christian community but at the same time, those for whom these practices work see themselves as the minority who hold the truth to liberate the majority. This whole phenomenon mimics the Akan indigenous religions as in their practice of *Okomfo*, where the priest holds the secret knowledge of gods, controls the interpretation and is positioned as a repository of knowledge of the oral narratives of their worship and its application in any given situation. There is a possibility that the current disposition of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches and their practice of prophetic consultation has been an influence of the indigenous religions, but they have found a way to place the practice in scripture through interpreting the narratives that speak to their situation. The discontinuity of this practice from the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches is that objects, such as live animals for instance, are not required, as is the case with the indigenous religions. However, in their place, money is collected. Another form of discontinuity is in the practice from the era of the boom of *sumsum sore* where in certain instances the priest or *odiyifo* as known then require candles and other objects as part of their performance of their prophetic actions. In essence there is not much within this practice of prophetic consultation in the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches that is different from the practice by the indigenous religions.

³⁸⁵ John C Poirier, "Narrative Theology and Pentecostal Commitments," *Journal of Pentecostal Theology* 16, no. 269-285(2008): 17.

4.3 Libations and Libation Language in Pentecostal Prayer

4.3.1 Indigenous Libation Practice

One of the outstanding features of the indigenous religions is libation. Libation is the means by which humans stay in touch with the spirit world. Libation to the adherent of an indigenous religion is what prayer is to the Pentecostal Christian. Libation is an acknowledgement of the dependence of the living on supernatural forces that exist in the Akan universe.³⁸⁶ The only difference would be that in libation there is a pouring out of drink to the ancestors whilst in prayer God is directly addressed and is the recipient of the request through Christ. Some indigenous religion adherents who are also members of various Christian churches, actually cannot tell the difference between the Christian prayer and libation as they are both forms of prayer ultimately to God. There are those who from a theological perspective consider Christ as an ancestor when the concept of place of ancestors is juxtaposed with Christianity.³⁸⁷ This is especially the case when ancestors are seen as the continuation of the family in the life beyond, and to the Pentecostals, the scriptures makes it clear that we are heirs of God and joint heirs with Christ.³⁸⁸ Most people who belong to both the indigenous religions and the Christian church hold this position. In fact there are other prominent and popular priests of shrines like the Kwaku Bonsam, Obuotabiri, Ataa Ahia who argue the equality of the indigenous religions to all foreign religions, such as Christianity.³⁸⁹

³⁸⁶ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 56.

³⁸⁷ Beyers and Mphahlele, "Jesus Christ as Ancestor: An African Christian Understanding," *Hervomde Teologiese Studies* 65, no. 1 (2001): 5.

³⁸⁸ This is a scriptural reference from Romans 8:17.

³⁸⁹ Obuotabiri is the main and revered deity of Koforidua in the Eastern Region of Ghana and Ataa Ahia is a popular shrine situated in Bubiashie in Accra with international connections outside of Ghana and operates like the Akonnedi of Larteh- Akuapem in the Eastern Region; Kwaku Bonsam's stand against Pentecostal pastors seem to have given boldness to other shrines to operate more openly even in places where some of the Pentecostal churches are very prominent. He also has a regular TV broadcast on Metro TV in Ghana and on a local radio station in Kumasi in Ghana. For him, the supreme God of the Indigenous religions is no different

In most cases libation pouring has involved the use of alcoholic drink or water or even both at times, or the offering of food to the spirit-beings, all this is done with prayer and incantation of words directed to the ancestors: it is a ritual action recognising their presence and continued participation in communal gatherings.³⁹⁰ Interestingly, with the use of the alcoholic drinks, there are instances where the magnitude of help needed from the ancestors and gods determine the quality of the drinks that are offered. Very notable brands and expensive imported drinks such as Beefeater, Johnnie Walker, and Black Label Whiskey are sometimes offered in that regard, but usually it is a locally brewed gin often referred to as ‘akpɛtेशie’ or palm wine that is used. The choice of the foreign brands to drinks for libation leaves one to wonder if the indigenous deities have acquired foreign taste. The fact that foreign products are used for indigenous rituals is indicative of the extent of globalisation and aids the contextualisation of religious beliefs.

For the Akan the ancestors are invisible but play a major role in communities. For this reason, the individual often pours libation for themselves or on behalf of the family to their own ancestors. Pouring libation to another's clan or family ancestors is considered most inhospitable, somewhat hostile and tantamount to gross disrespect and declaration of war on the ancestors of another clan or family. It has to be made clear however that depending on the kind of life that ancestor lived. They may have national ancestor status, and therefore can be consulted through libation pouring although they do not directly come from one's own family or clan. The act of libation pouring then becomes a reminder and an indication that the family consists of the living, the dead and even the unborn and that the living regard those who have moved on with much respect and consider them closer to the supreme being than the living

from the God of the Christians. He has debated with other Pastors from Pentecostal churches on various issues which includes libation on different public media platform

³⁹⁰ Elizabeth Graveling, “That is not religion, that is the gods’: Ways of conceiving religious practices in rural Ghana,” *Culture and Religion* 11, no.1 (2010): 31–50.

and therefore able to help determine what the will or wishes of the supreme Being are at any point in time.³⁹¹

Libation characterises almost every facet and aspect of life for the Akan. For instance, ‘before and after travel, libation is poured to the ancestors to seek their blessings or in thanksgiving for the blessings on the journey. On such occasions there is no need for a ritual specialist or a priest to make the sacrifice’³⁹². At the ethnic level a ritual specialist such as the chief linguist or priest mediates the cult of the ancestors through libation.³⁹³ Apart from individuals who pour libations in clans and family gatherings it is the *abusua panyin* or the head of the clan or family that has that first privilege of pouring libation.³⁹⁴ The established order is not merely an act of respect for the elderly or a quest to maintain order in the clan but it also holds spiritual connotations because whoever pours the libation must be well connected in the spirit to the ancestors and chosen by them to carry out the sacred act on behalf of the clan or family. Typically, libation pouring may involve invocations such as; *‘Twereduapɔn Onyankopɔn Kwame, yɛ kyere wo nsa na yen ma wo nsa, asase yaa nsa, nananom nsamanfo nsa; ɛnɛ daabɛn, ɛnɛ Awukudae, yɛ srɛ nananom banbo, nkwa, sika, ne ahoto ne yieyo.ɔkra tuntum biara a ɔbetwetwa yen nnantɛm anaase obibiara a obɛyɛ ne ho sɛ otwease nona bedidi yen ase na watoto yen ne mo nananom ntɛm deɛ yɛ samaran ma mo nananom sɛ mone won ndi no nwonwono; anaa sɛ ɔtamfo biara a ɔpe yen animguase de nananom mma won anim nguase’*, *anaase obibiara a onpe abusua yi ne oman yi yie dee won ma won dikan wo asamanndo’*.³⁹⁵

³⁹¹ Pobee, “Aspects of African Traditional Religion,” 10.

³⁹² Pobee, “Aspects of African Traditional Religion,” 10.

³⁹³ Pobee, “Aspects of African Traditional Religion,” 10.

³⁹⁴ Pobee, “Aspects of African Traditional Religion,” 10.

³⁹⁵ I witnessed the pouring of libation on numerous occasions in Ghana. (Translation of the Twi libation prayer) ‘Almighty God acknowledge our sacrifice, god of the earth, ancestors, today is the great Sunday feast, we ask for protection and life. Any witch or evil spirit who will attempt to sabotage our gathering is subpoenaed before you for judgement. Any enemy that seek the destruction of the community should suffer disgrace and must die’.

Analysing the libation ritual prayer based on the translation set out in the footnotes, the prayer starts by addressing the one and only supreme and ultimate God Kwame (a name given to males born on Saturday among Akans), saying that we do not offer you drink but bring it to you to acknowledge it. Mother earth is also given drink, as are the ancestors. The occasion for the libation is then mentioned: in the instance above it is a sacred Sunday.³⁹⁶ They proceed to ask for protection from the ancestors and any other supplication they may have. They then curse their enemies and pronounce evil over their enemies. The section to do with enemies varies according to the circumstances the people may find themselves in at the time, and their cultural and linguistic ties to the area influence the person's choice of words. In some instances enemies are represented by the term 'any black cat or witch that will cross our path, or any individual as cunning as the serpent we subpoenaed it before you our ancestors; or any enemy who does not wish us well should have disgrace befall them...' and so on³⁹⁷.

Whilst the libation is being poured, those present utter their concurrence with the sentiments of the prayer being offered using words and statements such as *Ampaara* (it is the truth), or *Yonn*, (yes indeed)³⁹⁸; *Siompa*, (truly) or *wyiɛ*, (well spoken). These interjections to the spirit-beings by the participants and audience present at the libation are equivalent to the *Amens* used in Christian prayers, especially among Pentecostals, who also use words such as 'yes Lord'.³⁹⁹ These interjections are considered an acknowledgement and agreement to the content of the prayer being offered by the individual performing the ritual. On some occasions

³⁹⁶ The Ashantis celebrate Akwasidae every six weeks according to the Akan annual calendar that is nine months in a year. The Adaekese which a grand Akwasidae and normally the last Akwasidae of the year.

³⁹⁷ The researchers experience of libation pouring as a participant observer.

³⁹⁸ Pobee, "Aspects of African Traditional Religion," 11.

³⁹⁹ Pobee, "Aspects of African Traditional Religion," 11.

the libation pouring is done whilst some of the adherents softly clap their hands as though they are stimulating or invoking the presence of the ancestors and gods.⁴⁰⁰

4.3.2 Libation Prayer Use in Ghana

Anyone who visits a Ghanaian-led Pentecostal church may realise that at their time of prayer people clap their hands. This mimics the clapping of hands that occurs when the libation is poured. This is also done when prayers are said in the Pentecostal churches. Acceptance of clapping during prayer may have stemmed from its introduction by Paul Owusu Tabiri who was the leader of the Bethel Prayer Ministry International in Sunyani in Ghana. They organised what was then known as ‘breaking’.⁴⁰¹ This is a deliverance session normally administered to a group of people simultaneously: the people are asked to follow certain instructions to be delivered from the demons that are considered to be tormenting them or from spirits that cause the problems they have. The deliverance process involves the invocation of curses against enemies through militant prayers with gestures and violent clapping.⁴⁰²

In the process of pouring libation as illustrated above, it is important to note that the drink is not offered to the Supreme God but that this God is asked to acknowledge it as a blessing. It depicts the importance that the indigenous religion’s adherents place on the Supreme God. However, another instance of the influence of Christianity on indigenous religions libation

⁴⁰⁰ Appiah, “Christianity in Indigenous Religions,” 48.

⁴⁰¹ Paul Owusu Tabiri was a Presiding Elder of the Church of Pentecost Estate Assembly in the Brong Ahafo Region of Ghana. In 1995 Bishop resigned from the Church of Pentecost to form the Bethel Prayer Ministry International to propagate the gospel in the whole world. The real reason however was as result of a misunderstanding with the hierarchy of the church over some of his beliefs and practices. Further information can be found at <http://www.bethelprayerministrylondon.com/bishop.html>, accessed on 08 July 2013.

⁴⁰² Owusu Tabiri, Leader of the Bethel Prayer Ministry in Ghana.

prayer is the use of the serpent to represent the devil or Satan, as in the Bible. The custodians of tradition and culture within the Akan areas do not question the use of the symbol of the serpent, as it is assumed that the audience and participants of libation understand the meaning of the symbol being presented quite clearly. Another reason for this is that many of the older people belong to mainline historical churches such as the Methodist Church, Catholic Church and the Presbyterian churches, either because they were born and baptised into those churches as infants or because they represent the families in those churches, but still practice indigenous religion in some sense, and participate fully in libation pouring. The representation of libation prayer in churches in forms and not in practice is quite common in certain areas of Ghana because a lot of people prefer Christian burials and therefore although they may not regularly attend these mainline historical churches, they pay their dues to maintain membership on their own behalf and that of their families. Such individuals would not question the use of the symbol of the serpent for instance because its significance is well understood due to its use in the church and in the biblical text in the book of Genesis.

As Christian prayers are said in the name of Jesus to denote the advocacy and mediatory role that Jesus plays for Christians and the Christian God, as the only son of God, libation in the form of pouring out drinks or in the form of offering food to the ancestors and gods is seen as drawing on the advocacy role of the ancestors between both God, the adherents, and the gods. The Akan believes the ancestors' play a similar role as Jesus does for Christians as advocates and mediators.⁴⁰³ A key difference though is that the majority of Christians irrespective of their persuasions call on one mediator and advocate, Jesus Christ. However in the indigenous religions the ancestors differ from one area to another. One could therefore argue that Jesus

⁴⁰³ John Pobee, *Toward an African Theology* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1979), 94.

and the ancestors are not on the same level, but there are ways in which the ancestors' roles may mimic some aspects of the role and work of Jesus Christ.⁴⁰⁴

4.3.3 Libation Language Use in Britain

Most Ghanaian-led Pentecostals would assent to the argument put forward by Harry Sawyerr to distinguish the ancestry of Christ from the Akan ancestors by stating that 'unlike the ancestors of the Africans, Jesus Christ, once dead, now lives'.⁴⁰⁵ On the other hand, as well as certain individuals resorting to libation pouring, the language used by some members of Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches, can certainly be said to have been borrowed from the indigenous religions practitioners who pour libation at community and state functions. Whilst there may not have been a conscious effort on the part of the Pentecostals to adopt these forms of prayer from the indigenous religions, this practice is widespread and incessant denials of this form of prayer having been picked from the indigenous religions do not undermine the credibility of the claim. The petitions and supplications made through the ancestors and the gods to God during libation are often very rich in terms of the choice of words used; they carry with them a certain cultural flavour that reveals the rich cultural heritage of the community.

The Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches such as DC, FCI, ICGC, and RCI employ this rich language, but claim that it is biblical jargon. However, this language illustrates the rich cultural backgrounds of these churches and the influence that indigenous religions have had on them. Archbishop Bishop Nicholas Duncan-Williams of Action Chapel is one individual

⁴⁰⁴Kwesi Dickson, *Theology in Africa* (Maryknoll: Orbis, 1984), 197-98.

⁴⁰⁵ Harry Sawyerr, *Creative Evangelism* (London: Lutterworth), 1968. 93.

who adopts this style of using big words and expressions in his prayer. It is evident however, that this phenomenon is found among the churches with roots in Ghana more generally because most African indigenous religions pour libation and the churches used as case studies in this research are all led by Akans. It is clear that libation language influences the prayer vocabulary of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches. For instance, a pastor of one of the churches observed led the members in prayer in English using these words: ‘...*in the name of Jesus Christ, may every power that is pursuing me; may every satanic plot against me; may every agenda of Satan against my destiny be aborted. As I clap my hands and pray, may they be bound, may they catch fire, and may they be confused. I declare that may shame and reproach be their portion, pray...*’⁴⁰⁶. This is a prayer that would typically accompany a libation whilst the audience or participants clap their hands. Therefore this indigenous libation prayer has been contextualised for relevance for Christians in Britain. In the Christian practice those who are offering the prayer are encouraged to do the clapping themselves. It is believed that this enforces the power and resolve behind the prayer being offered. For these Pentecostals prayer is not only a request to God but also a way of enforcing one’s spiritual power and authority in the world of spirits. It does not leave the onus on God, the supposed recipient of the prayer, for an answer but invokes the individual’s resolve and determination to break into the world of spirits for an action as a response in the here and now.

There is a clear indication that not only is there continuity between the beliefs and praxis of indigenous religions and Ghanaian-led Pentecostal church practices. There is no indication of any difference in how the libation language is appropriated in Pentecostal Church prayers in Ghana and in Britain, as traditional libation and Pentecostal prayer has more to do with

⁴⁰⁶ A prayer recorded at a Royalhouse chapel conference in London on 31 June 2013, the Pastor led the congregation through a series of prayer points based on the sermon he preached. This prayer was led by Sam Korankye Ankrah who is the founder and Apostle General of the Church. He had come to hold the ‘Convention of Saints’ a yearly conference at the East London Assembly of the church.

meaning than form. In this sense they may be very relevant to the community of Ghanaians who make up the majority of their members, but not necessarily to the wider host communities.

4.4 Naming (*Din to*) and ‘Outdooring’ Ceremonies

As with the elements discussed earlier in this chapter, the naming ceremonies and the accompanying rituals practiced by adherents of indigenous religions will now be analysed in comparison to the way that naming ceremonies are practiced within the Pentecostal churches both in Ghana and in Britain.

4.4.1 Naming (*Din to*) and ‘Outdooring’ in Ghana

The life of the Akan is characterised by many ritual performances intended to create cosmic harmony at the various stages of human development and of the life cycle. Special ceremonies with accompanying rituals are performed when a person is born, when a person reaches puberty and then at their death. These ceremonies and rituals are taken seriously: they are not just treated as social events but are deeply rooted in the culture and the spirituality of individuals within the community. In most instances, when the rituals to be performed at these stages of an individual’s life are omitted or refused, they carry consequences to the individual and the community at large. The naming ceremony, known by the Akans as *Din to*, is a ceremonial process where children are brought out on the eighth day after birth to be given a name. When a child is born, the child is often kept indoors, in the bedroom of parents and away from the eyes of the public apart from very close family. This tradition continues to this

day although it is no longer as rigid as it used to be. For instance, the introduction of western medicine requires that a mother send the child to the hospital for various checks, making it impossible to keep the infant indoors for that duration. To preserve the tradition mothers will often cover their un-named infants with a white cloth to make it impossible for anyone to see the child whilst they make their way to hospital. There are also instances where the mother is kept in hospital after birth for a medical reason; the naming ceremony is then held after they are out of hospital. On the day set for the ceremony and the rituals, 'the infant is taken out of isolation and privacy since birth to establish initial contact in the public realm with individuals and groups, families, and family friends-among whom he or she will grow, function, marry, die, and be buried. These are the individuals and groups who will also play significant roles in the child's life owing to his or her membership in specific cognatic descent social units',⁴⁰⁷. The whole process of the outdooring of the child is to affirm the responsibility of the child to the community and vice versa. It stresses that the extended family system has a role to play, particularly in the upbringing of the child, unlike most western societies where the raising of a child is the basic responsibility of the immediate family. This has been altered somewhat because some of these traditional structures of society have been influenced by western ideals and definitions of the family and community. As part of the traditional protocols associated with the naming of a newborn, it is the *abusua panyin* or head of the clan of the child's father that makes contact with the new-borns' mother's family to officially inform them about the newborn and invite them to the ceremony. When the day of the ceremony arrives, elaborate procedures are followed to ensure that the ceremony conforms to the traditions of the father's family. With both of the baby's parents present, seated and given a traditional welcome, libation is poured to welcome the spirit of the ancestors and the gods.

⁴⁰⁷ Abu Shardow Abarry, "The Naming Drama of the Ga People," *Journal of Black Studies* 27, no. 3 (1997): 366.

At that point the elders from the child's maternal family usher in the mum from her hiding place with the baby and hands him or her over to the *abusua panyin* or the leading elder of the father's family.

Whilst seated the elders again offer libation to thank the gods and the ancestor for the safe delivery of the child and commit proceedings into their hands. He goes on to dip his hand in water and an alcoholic drink and drops it in the child's lips in succession and states '*se wo hu nsu a kase nsu*'; *na 'wohu nsa nso a kase nsa*', meaning: 'when you recognise water state it is water' and 'when you recognise drink state it is a drink'.⁴⁰⁸

The significance of this is the introduction of the infant to the reality of life including choices between good and bad; it is making a declaration that the child opt for the good at all times. The elder who performs the ritual states clearly that they should choose to speak the truth at all times rather than telling lies. Thereafter the elder who performs the ritual asks the child's father the name that he has decided to give the child. He is asked to explain the name he has decided, the rationale for that name and the meaning of the name. In the indigenous Akan context, the first name received, the *kra din* (soul name) is determined by the day of the week on which the child was born as well as the divinity that governs the day.⁴⁰⁹ It is believed that *Nyame* or *Nyankopon* (the Supreme Being) ascribed different spiritual qualities and functions to seven of his children translated as divinities. Each is assigned to a day of the week. This spiritual quality of the divinities are believed to be correspondingly transmitted to and carried by the soul of the child along gender lines⁴¹⁰. As a result each of these Akan weekday names given to a child have their '*mmrane*' – appellation. For instance a male born on a Wednesday is called Kwaku and his '*mmrane*' is *Bonsam*; a female born on a Sunday is called Akosua has the '*mmrane*' *Dompo*. Every Akan has *kra din* (soul names) given apart from the '*din pa*'-

⁴⁰⁸ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 51.

⁴⁰⁹ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 51.

⁴¹⁰ Afe Adogame, "Contesting the Ambivalences of Modernity in a Global Context: The Redeemed Christian Church of God, North America," *Studies in World Christianity* 10, no. 1 (2004): 39.

or the actual name, which is normally a name borne by an ancestor: the aim is that the child would emulate qualities of the ancestor to continue their good works in the community. When the name has been chosen by the *abusua panyin* to be placed upon the child, libation is poured to the ancestors to affirm the name upon the child. As a way to remember the child's name and to accept the child into the community, the *okyeame* or the linguist of the ceremony at that point passes around the drink used for the ritual for each present to drink portions of it. As part of the 'ritual participants of the ceremony mention the name and offer the child being named pleasant words of welcome. Thereafter the paternal, maternal family and guests present the child and mother with gifts'.⁴¹¹ The 'symbolism, meaning, and power of naming and several elements of the indigenous naming ritual have been transposed within an African Christian worldview, although the agencies of propitiation have sharply altered'.⁴¹²

4.4.2 The Pentecostal *Din to* Experience in Ghana.

Akan Pentecostals recognise the role of the *din to* traditions and rituals and accept *din to* as part of the traditions of the church. Ghanaian Pentecostals do not believe in infant baptism on the basis that a person is baptised after they have believed in Christ as Lord and personal saviour: since the infant is unable to make that conscious, informed choice they cannot be baptised. As a result they practice what they refer to as baby dedication and present certificates, as in baptism among the mainline historic churches. The baby dedication is practiced on the basis of Jesus being presented in the temple by his parents for certain rituals to be performed. The Pentecostals embracing the traditional *din to* alongside their biblical practice of dedication means that they are involved in introducing the infant into the world

⁴¹¹ Appiah, "Christianity in indigenous cultures," 52.

⁴¹² Adogame, "Contesting the Ambivalences of Modernity in a Global Context," 39.

through *din to* and at the same time initiating the infant into the church. This is a classic example of the extent to which the Pentecostal traditions can contextualise to remain relevant to their communities. The naming ceremony and its rituals are adopted in Pentecostal churches, the *sunsum sore* with a few changes to certain elements of the indigenous practice but without changing the essence of it. The Pentecostal church's strength lies in their ability to place their system of beliefs, which they often claim to be biblical, within an indigenous framework to make it relevant to their members. This understanding seems to influence the practice of their beliefs a great deal as we will see from how they conduct their naming ceremonies.

The traditional naming ceremony begins with the husband of the newborn informing his elders, and they in turn inform the elders of the mother of the new born of a set date to perform all the necessary rituals. The church does not take part in all these consultations that take place prior to the ceremony itself. The couple that belong to the church must communicate the date chosen and agreed by the families to the church for the church to also agree to come to the ceremony. When that is agreed it is expected that the church way of performing the *din to* rites over-ride the traditional practice. The church issues certain instructions such as a ban on libation. The church takes over the ceremony when all parties to it are seated. The traditional welcoming through the *okyeame* for the occasion is done. Thereafter the rest of the ceremony is handed over to the Pastor to continue with the proceedings. When the pastor is introduced, they would usually give the rationale for the 'Christian' naming and its relevance. Where the ceremony would have begun with libation, the pastor prays. After the opening prayer, the pastor asks that the child be handed over to him. This is similar to the child being handed over to the elder of the child's paternal family who performs the rite. In Akan *din to* rituals, a drop of alcohol and water are placed in the

child's mouth with certain instructions and declarations made to the child. At that point the child's name is taken from the father who mentions the name he wants the child to be known by and gives the meaning of the name.

Similar to the items used to perform the actual ritual, there are three items that the pastor uses in the place of items that would have normally been used by the elders: these are water, honey and salt water. The symbolism of the water is transparency, integrity and uprightness; the honey symbolises wisdom, hard work and (sweetness) enjoyable life; and salt water symbolises the child being the salt of the earth. They put a drop of each in the child's mouth and make declarations similar to those made in indigenous ceremonies. When that is done, the pastor prays and hands the child over to the father. To complete the ritual, the remaining honey is passed round to be tasted and as this is done the name of the child is mentioned, as in an indigenous ceremony.⁴¹³ At that point, those who came with gifts for the baby are allowed to present them and the ceremony is brought to a close.⁴¹⁴ This is the usual procedure in a Pentecostal church in an Akan speaking area in Ghana: certain aspects may differ from church to church, but the essence remains the same.

4.4.3 Naming (Din to) and 'Outdooring' in Britain

There is also a continuity of this practice in DC, RCI, ICGC and FCI. The only difference observed in the practice in Britain has been the use of white talcum powder as part of the ritual performance by FCI. The significance of the powder, according to Pastor Humphrey is

⁴¹³ This is normally the format adopted by all Pentecostal churches except that some of the items used as part of the rites vary. Some churches add to it and others take from it, but this is the basic procedure of the rites among DCI, RCI, ICGC, DC.

⁴¹⁴ An observation of the naming ceremony of baby Ethan conducted by Rev Edwin Donkor of the ICGC on 15 September 2012 at an address at Forest Gate in East London.

that the whole biological process of conception and birth is a battle that an individual has to win in order to appear on this side of life. He goes on to say that, ‘millions of sperms have to compete to fertilise an egg and it takes the fastest and healthiest to win that race’.⁴¹⁵ Smearing white talcum powder on the child signifies that they are beginning life as victors and not as losers.⁴¹⁶ This rhetoric is commonly heard in the sermons of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal church preachers. Smearing of white talcum powder on individuals considered victorious in either a court case, an athletic event or some other form of competition is in itself an indigenous religious practice. This originates from the smearing of white talcum powder on the priest when the gods possess them and they are under the influence of the gods. The powder is smeared on the priests and blown on them supposedly to signify their authority through conquest the power they have over others. It is evident that the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches still seem to be attached to the aprons of their indigenous forbearers and the indigenous contexts provide them with the grounds for expressing their beliefs.

Another area of discontinuity in the practice of *din to* in DC, ICGC, RCI and FCI is the organisation of the ‘baby shower’ for expectant mothers prior to the delivery of their babies. These ‘baby shower’ functions are not organised by the church officially but are an accepted norm within the churches as friends of the expectant mother come together to organise them. Because of the baby shower not many people bring gifts to the baby at the naming ceremony according to the Ghanaian custom. There are those who see the baby shower a better option and chose to be absent on the day of the naming ceremony to attend to other matters. This is a modification of the naming ceremony since the practice of the baby shower is entirely a

⁴¹⁵ An interview with Pastor Humphrey of the FCI, on 09 January 2013 at the office of FCI in Welling, Kent.

⁴¹⁶ An observation of a naming ceremony conducted by Pastor Ofosuware for baby Cyneric, at an address in Lewisham, South London on 12 January 2013.

western concept and practice, traditionally known as *wetting the baby's head* in Britain.⁴¹⁷ This is also in contrast to Akan tradition that a pregnant mother does not receive gifts from people and until the child is born there are no celebratory events involving the mother or the unborn. The 'baby shower' is therefore a departure from the cultural heritage of these people. 'Baby showers' I have attended have involved some persons from the white British community, alongside Indian and Brazilian work colleagues of the expectant mother. This is an important point for contextualisation because since the majority of the participants are from the church and the organisers come from the church, aspects of the function are Christianised as one can see and hear from the kind of vocabulary used, the songs sung and the merry-making without alcohol (although FCI sanctions the drinking of wine in moderation). I posit that those who attend these baby showers may only see subtle differences from ones they may have previously attended and through curiosity may become attracted to the church and eventually join as members.

4.5 Expelling Malevolent Spirits as Deliverance

4.5.1 Deliverance Practice in Ghana

After the child naming and all the rituals associated with it have been done, in case the child is born with any ailment or permanent disability or deformity it is attributed to malevolent spirits and those spirits have to be expelled to free them from their influence. Any other ailment or misfortune that the individual encounters sometime later in their lives is also treated in this way. Where rituals have to be performed to expel the spirits that are deemed to

⁴¹⁷ The history of the practice of baby shower found at http://www.randomhistory.com/2008/11/01_baby.htm, accessed on 14 July 2013.

be responsible for the ailment, this fits seamlessly with the understanding of the individual's family's existential experience and it is therefore accepted. Assigning spiritual causes to explain an unfortunate event, ailment or disease is part of an indigenous religious cosmology, which has also found its way into Pentecostal thought and practice. Within the social and religious construct of the African, when a mishap occurs the question that is often asked is: 'why is this?' and 'who might have caused this?' In comparison, within the Western social and religious construct one might ask 'what is this?'. Present beliefs that inform this practice in Pentecostal churches can be traced to the indigenous religions in that, they tend to attribute situations of difficulty or situations that cannot be easily explained to a spiritual influence and therefore seek some sort of spiritual interpretation and subsequently resort to a ritual performance to restore normalcy.

Within the indigenous religions the causes of such mishaps are identified either as the deities or the ancestors and they occur as a result of a wrong doing on the part of an individual, family, or indeed the whole community against the gods and the ancestors. The mishap or the unfortunate event is seen as a punishment, which is often interpreted as a temporary or permanent curse. In such instances there is a call to expel the malevolent spirits involved in enforcing the curse or for intervention to appease the gods or ancestor who has brought about the mishap and this is expressed by the indigenous religions and the Pentecostal churches as expelling the malevolent spirits and deliverance respectively. Expelling malevolent spirits as in deliverance, practiced by Ghanaian Pentecostals is similar to the practice of exorcism in the AICs in general as exorcism was practiced at a point when personal 'awareness' and consciousness of the devil and of evil increased among the churches in Ghana. However, scholars such as Onyinah and Forson have limited the practice of deliverance at the time of the AICs to an instance where individuals' depressed by the competing indigenous and

Christian beliefs within leave the AICs exposing them to the Pentecostals for their form of deliverance.⁴¹⁸

However, while Onyinah and Forson make a very good historical contribution to our understanding of deliverance, in making this assertion they miss a very important reason why people seek deliverance: people are no longer seeking deliverance from association with the practices of indigenous religions, but rather Christians are regularly seeking deliverance from anything that restricts them from enjoying the abundant life given to them by God.⁴¹⁹ The abundant life expressed here by the Ghanaian Pentecostals is not that envisioned from an evangelical perspective which proposes that once a person is saved by accepting Christ's salvific work they are free from all satanic influences, but rather an adaptation of the perspective of indigenous religions where interaction with the spirit world means that certain malevolent spirits can find their way to harm individuals. This means that there is the need for a ritual action to deal with this spiritual interference. To place this within the biblical discourse Pentecostals in Ghana would normally quote the story of Lazarus raised from the dead by Jesus. In this story, as presented in John 11: 38-44, after Jesus called the dead Lazarus from the tomb he came out still wrapped up in his grave shrouds. Jesus at this point turns to those who were with him to 'loose and let him go'. This narrative has been used to place the deliverance practice in scripture and to legitimise it among Christians. It is suggested therefore that one could accept Christ and be 'born again' but still be bound and experiencing what they claim are satanic attacks on their money, marriage, job, family. Deliverance is therefore needed to set them free from those influences considered to be

⁴¹⁸ Mathias Kwasi Forson, "Split-Level Christianity in Africa: A Study of the Persistence of Traditional Religious Beliefs and Practices Among the Akan". Ph.D. Dissertation, E. Stanley Jones School of World Mission and Evangelism, Asbury Theological Seminary, 1993. 4.

⁴¹⁹ Opoku Oyninah, "Akan Witchcraft and the Concept of Exorcism in the Church of Pentecost," (PhD Diss.: University of Birmingham, 2002). 128 - 134.

brought on by malevolent spirits. If Onyinah's assertion was correct, then from what do the indigenous religions exorcise their adherents, because they also exorcise their adherents from spirits that bring mishap upon them? The validity of the question stems from the fact that the Ghanaian Pentecostal understanding and practice of deliverance has borrowed much from the indigenous religions.

Obviously Ghanaian Pentecostals do not go through deliverance to be freed exclusively from demons but also from sickness, poverty, and other misfortunes, unlike the early Christian missionaries who regarded the gods and ancestors of the indigenous religions as demons and generally agencies and agents of the devil and may not consider issues such as poverty and sickness as demons.⁴²⁰ Pentecostals believe in the manifestation of demons into various debilitating human conditions. On this basis, they would regard social issues such as poverty to be spiritual, for instance, and anyone plagued by poverty would need to be delivered from the spirit of poverty.

The other problem that Onyinah and Forson's assertion raises is that it relegates the conditions for which individuals seek deliverance to the abstract and intangible, suggesting that they are only an internal struggle, which is not the case. The reason is that 'African Pentecostals, through the ministry of 'healing and deliverance', provide the ritual context within which such presumably "irreversible curses" on people's lives are broken by the power of the Spirit, in order that victims may be freed to enjoy the abundance of life that is available in Christ'.⁴²¹

⁴²⁰ T. E. Bowdich, *An Essay on Superstitions, Customs, and Arts, Common to the Ancient Egyptians, Abyssinians, and Ashantees* (Paris: Peter Smith, 1821), 45-78.

⁴²¹ J. Kwabena Asamoah-Gyadu, "Mission to 'Set the Captives Free': Healing, Deliverance, and Generational Curses in Ghanaian Pentecostalism," *International Review of Mission* 93, no. 370-371 (2004):391.

As a result of juxtaposing the practice from the indigenous religions into Pentecostal churches there is an assertion that those who would have consulted the indigenous priests are now doing that through the Pentecostal church leaders. This is backed up by statistics from the 'Association of Religion Data Archive that states that 19.3% of the population in Ghana are adherents of Indigenous religions as against 61.2% being Christians'.⁴²² The data superficially shows a resurgence of Christianity. However, due to the rise of certain shrines' popularity as mentioned earlier this resurgence is being fiercely challenged. The resurgence and popularity of this type of beliefs and praxis within Pentecostal churches in Ghana has made it possible for its replication in other countries such as Britain, where Ghanaians can be found.

The appropriation of deliverance from the indigenous religions into Pentecostal churches is evidenced by the similar operations and motives around being set free from entities of darkness that seek to encroach on an individuals fortune, manifesting in poverty, sickness, confusion, lack of sleep, nightmares and generally anything an individual does not want in their lives. The aspect of individuals' wellbeing being encroached upon by powers beyond the human sphere makes the need for deliverance a bit subjective as the individual and what they consider as abnormal in their lives, as well as their ability to convince the practitioner or pastor that the events have a spiritual cause. There are also instances where the pastors or prophets they approach make their own independent diagnosis upon the statement of the client or member's situation and problem. Having said that there are those prophets who through their ability to see into the spirit (as discussed above) are able to diagnose with or without the client narrating their life's events and circumstances.

The vocabulary often used for the resulting condition of deliverance is freedom. Therefore the deliverance is for freedom from poverty, sickness and a host of misfortunes that are believed

⁴²² Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 42.

to have come into the life of the individual.

4.5.2 Deliverance practice in Britain

Among the churches studied in Britain, observations about the appropriation of deliverance showed that deliverance is approached differently by 75 per cent of the study sample, the exception being RCI, which was much closer to the praxis in Ghana. Special deliverance sessions are organised, where individuals are prayed for, with ‘manifestations’ of the demons behind their conditions. Some of these manifestations take the form of the said demons speaking through those individuals about the damage they have caused and intend to perpetuate in the victim’s life. These manifestations are sometimes in the form of vomiting and the demons speaking through the individuals being delivered. These are an accepted occurrence in the church, and church volunteer workers, especially ushers, are trained to deal with such manifestations when they occur in the service. A classic example was at the 2011 Conventions of Saints at the RCI, where an invited guest speaker Abraham Chingbundu taught on deliverance and conducted a mass deliverance session at the end of the sermon. The other churches DC, FCI, ICGC make mention of deliverance from life’s debilitating conditions and social issues such as poverty and sickness and so on, but the message of the process of the deliverance is not through the ritual action expressed by RCI, which is the normal practice in most Pentecostal churches in Ghana. Instead, people are encouraged through faith in the word of God and only in very limited sense people are called forward, prayed for and anointed with olive oil.⁴²³ FCI for instance has “Freedom to Prosper” as an

⁴²³ In fact ICGC Ghana as represented by its headquarters church, Christ Temple where the General Overseer is the Resident Pastor is not very much different in their praxis to their branch in London. That notwithstanding other branches within Ghana and their pastors practice deliverance in the form practiced by RCI London, so over

inscription written at the top of its platform, where the pulpit stands. The Pastor, Ofosuware like many other pastors interviewed, believe poverty is a spirit, but the agency through which you seek deliverance is not only through some form of ‘spiritual ritual action but also through other common sense and specialised help such as financial planning, business start ups and giving to God, which the church has been providing to their members through various initiatives’.⁴²⁴

My conclusion is that the rhetoric of deliverance is very much present in all the sermons and activities of the churches, because of the composition of the membership, the majority being Ghanaian and also being migrants. The transnational status of the members makes the subject of deliverance relevant for the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches. However, the process of being freed, seen as the desired result of the deliverance does not depend too much on a ritual action, similar to that of the indigenous religions. The ritual solution to poverty is not always administered through prayer: each circumstance has its own tailor-made remedy. For example, when dealing with the issue of poverty members are told to give, as God will out-give them and give them opportunities to earn more money in return, and there have been testimonies from some members of these churches that the principle of giving as taught by their pastors works.⁴²⁵ This is also alongside other remedies of teaching them practical ways of saving money and making money through business start-ups. In my view these churches have been influenced by their current cultural milieu and are responding appropriately to the cultural demands to remain relevant: first internally to the younger generation of members

all ICGC as whole has a measured response to the practice of deliverance but depending on which branch and pastor you meet, the practice and understanding may differ.

⁴²⁴ In an informal chat with Pastor Ofosuware to formally thank him and inform him of the end of my observation at FCI on 29 March 2013.

⁴²⁵ Testimony given by Kyeiwaa at the RCI, regarding receiving unexpected sums of money from HMRC for over-paying taxes. According to her the miracle of it was the timing of the money’s coming because that she had to meet a deadline to pay her school fees which was four days to the time. Meaning that she could pay in the HMRC cheque and have it cleared on the fourth day and on that same day pay the school fees. Testimony given at an all night held on 7 December 2012.

who were born in this country and have no experience and understanding of the Ghanaian Pentecostal church heritage, and secondly to their host community. Observations about how these churches serve as agents of continuity or discontinuity of Ghanaian Pentecostal Christianity suggest there are two ways that issues of beliefs and praxis peculiar to the Ghanaian Pentecostal Church have been approached. One way is orienting the younger generation of members born in Britain who come with their parents to the churches towards the beliefs, expressions of beliefs and praxis that represent the authentic way of Christian living and expression of worship to God, with the intention that this is the only form of Christian beliefs and praxis they would accept. The danger, however, is that this may be questioned later when they are exposed to other beliefs and praxis from other Christian traditions. There may then be a tendency for them to leave to other churches whose beliefs and praxis blend better into the culture of Britain.

The second approach is just focusing on their internal community of the younger generation of church members born in Britain who go back into their communities with these 'new' set of beliefs and praxis and influence the host communities of the churches. This is based on the perception that they may be much closer to the community than their migrant parents and can use the sub-culture being inculcated in them by the church to reach out to their communities. It is worth noting that there is not an over reliance on this group as the link to their communities as there are various activities and programs (as discussed in Chapter three) that these churches run to maintain their relevance to their host communities. Although there have been controversies regarding the issue of deliverance in Pentecostal churches among the younger generation, where there has been allegation of death and child abuse in the processes of deliverance, this does not seem to be the case of the Ghanaian-led churches in Britain as the influence of British culture seems to slightly adulterate the forms, meaning and practice of

deliverance as seen above.

4.6 The Youth, Music, Dance and Choreography

4.6.1 The Youth, Indigenous Music and Dance and Choreography

The churches give much attention to the younger generation's future representation and continued membership in the churches. In most Ghanaian indigenous communities, especially the Akans, succession planning is quite vital to the future growth and development of communities. Young men and women are groomed to grow through the ranks to take over from the present generation to perpetuate their culture and the governance of their various communities. So for instance you have chiefs, priests and priestesses, herbalists, town criers and announcers who have apprentices who understudy them. Within these African indigenous communities, youngsters are taught the traditional dances and music because these arts define their community's culture. Akan music and dances are often expressive, with expressions that involve movement of the whole body with a combination of lyrics and rhythm. The lyrics often tell a story of an accomplishment of past warriors or the community as a whole. Examples of this traditional music are; *Kete*, *Adowa*, *Fontomfrom*, and *Nnwomkoro*. There are some of the music types such as the *fontomfrom* music and dance that does not involve lyrics. Body movements are made in line with the rhythm of the *fontomfrom* drum, which is a huge cylindrical drum often played at state functions and at the funeral of very important members of the community.

The music and dance are non restrictive to gender in the community; both males and females with the ability and training are able to perform them. In some cases, special attire needs to be

worn for particular music and dance. For instance, during the time of war, the warriors had to put on special clothing and adorn themselves to look very fearful and their march may or may not include any dancing at all. If there was a dance accompaniment, it was to express the mood of the chief, the chief warrior, the warriors and the entire community. That is to say that the music and dance was not only meant for pleasure but also as part of domestic events by individuals and families and community functions of high importance. It was more often than not used as an expression of the mood of the individual and the community as a whole and could serve as a switch between times of pleasure and times of seriousness in a situation of war, famine or atrocity.⁴²⁶ To further illustrate this point, the music and dance of the Akan has always got meaning and function whether in its domestic application as festival celebration or public appropriation as in time of war. There is an extra-musical context that gives meaning and significance to the music and dance. For instance there are songs sung by fishermen during boat rowing and during fishing, which are meant to help them synchronise the movement of the oars and also to motivate produce the energy required for the job at hand. The singing does not end on the sea: it continues at the shore whilst the fishermen are pulling the net out of the sea. Farmers do the same, singing whilst on the farms and when they bring in their produce to the harvesting grounds ready to be sent to the community or sold. Growing up in Ghana, it was a common sight to see members of the police academy on their Saturday routine march, do their march with songs, which came to define the courage and the bravado of the police force. It somehow distinguishes them as a serious group of people with a serious assignment.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 24.

⁴²⁷ A personal observation by the researcher of the Ghana Police Force Academy in Koforidua. Routine Endurance Training sessions of new recruits, including a march through the municipal streets of Koforidua each Saturday dawn.

There are dances and specific movements that are reserved for certain important members of the community such as the kings and chiefs of the community who sometimes in dancing *Kete* or *Adowa* can open their arms wide and then bring them together with the fingers to hit their chest to signify their ruler-ship and ownership of the land. This expression of authority and power to rule is limited to one's own area and in an instance where the chief of a particular traditional area hosts the *Omanhene*, the traditional chiefs or the sub-chiefs cannot make such a gesture in his presence, as he himself is under the authority of the *Omanhene*. To this end, music and dances are performed together to convey a message to the audience and community at large. Apart from the mundane and specialised use of music and dance in the community, music and dance is considered to have a spiritual function as it is used as a medium for invoking the spirits of the ancestors and the gods. During most indigenous religious rites at *Awukudae*, *Akwasidae*, *Ohum*, *Odwira* festivals or community celebrations, drumming and music are a central part of the ceremonies from start to finish: they are believed to be the medium that causes the transition of the ancestors or gods from the spirit to possess priests or others who they may choose as spokespersons for the moment⁴²⁸. Some communities have special drums they beat sometimes without lyrics to a particular rhythm for the invocation of a particular god in response to a need that may have arisen in the community. Those spirits are invoked with the use of music and sometimes for intervention purposes. In this case, the music and the subsequent spirit possession in itself becomes a means to an end and an opportunity to hear from the gods and for the community to convey their supplications to them.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁸ William D. Banks, "Spirit-Possession Rituals in Southern Ghana: Priests, Musicians, and Ritual Efficacy," *Western Journal of Black Studies* 35, no. 1 (2011): 45.

⁴²⁹ Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Religions", 24.

Due to the importance attached to music and dance in the communities there are elders who are charged with the responsibility of training the young men and women of the communities in music and dance to perpetuate culture and the indigenous religions. Music is very central to the life of the African and for that matter the Akan, as it becomes the expression of the hopes, fears, joys and sorrows of individuals and the community.⁴³⁰ Christian songs sung in Ghana (which have been incorporated into the Asempa Hymnal used in secondary schools in Ghana in the 1990s) include a lot of what were described as ‘negro spirituals’, commonly referred to these days as ‘spirituals’, which were mainly songs composed by African slaves whilst they worked on the plantations in the Caribbean and the Americas.⁴³¹ The content and rhythm of these songs were inspired by African music, with some of them referred to as ‘shouts’ accompanied with typical dancing, hand clapping and foot taping.⁴³² The content of most of these spirituals expresses the hopes, fears, joys and sorrows of these slaves at the time. These spirituals have become part of church music across Christian traditions in Ghana.

4.6.2 A Legacy Continued In Churches in Ghana

The influence of traditional African cultures is evident in the spirituals in the African American context and has also in the music of the Ghanaian Pentecostal churches, in their appreciation of music and dance, with a modern twist. In most of these churches the only difference between some of the music and dance of the indigenous religions and the church, is the insertion of the name Jesus and God and the use of biblical narratives in the music, as well

⁴³⁰ J H Nketia, *Drumming in Akan Communities* (London: T. Nelson, University of Ghana Press, 1963).

⁴³¹ For further information see www.negrospirital.com, and Jackson, Buckwheat Notes, pp. 392-401. Also the Asempa Hymnal is a hymn book put together with the initiative of the Historic Main line churches in Ghana to aid worship and praise during their school times of worship or devotion as some refer to it. It is printed by the Asempa Publisher which is owned by the Christian Council of Churches of Ghana.

⁴³² See www.negrospirital.com, accessed 23 August 2013.

as the fact that these dances are now said to be performed unto the Lord. The Pentecostal tradition that comes closest to the use of indigenous music and dance are the sumsum sore among whom Musama Disco Christo Church (MDCC), Nakaba, Divine Healers Church are very much notable. Due to the influence of western music there has been a slight modification of the type of music and dance used by the Pentecostal–Charismatic churches. This is actually a move away from the indigenous religions’ type of music and the early AIC’s. As seen from the previous paragraph, music and dance permeate every aspect of life of the Ghanaian, and neo-Pentecostal churches have fully taken advantage of this phenomenon.⁴³³ It is therefore not surprising at all that ‘gospel music’ constitutes 75% of all music recorded in Ghana and the rapid growth of the gospel music industry is said to have coincided with the proliferation of neo-Pentecostal churches in Ghana.⁴³⁴ The kind of music learnt, choreographed and performed in these churches includes reggae, R & B and rap music with the lyrics being made up of a biblical narrative that prominently features the words God and Jesus. An example of this occurrence is the song by *Mesom Jesus* by Daddy Lumba, a popular Ghanaian highlife musician. The focus of the music, as in the indigenous music, is about telling the accomplishments of God and Jesus and their encounters with these personalities. These persons of the Godhead are their warriors as the Supreme Being and the ancestors in the indigenous religions and have become the embodiment and the reflection of the individuals’ and the entire church community’s accomplishments. The lyrics are mostly testimonial in nature which in itself reflects the preaching content and style of most Pentecostal–Charismatic sermons. The lyrics are musical personal testimonies about accomplishments with God and the audience are encouraged to believe in God and Christ, and remain firm in the faith irrespective of their personal challenges.

⁴³³ Appiah, “Christianity in Indigenous Cultures,” 26.

⁴³⁴ Abamfo Atiemo, “Singing with Understanding”: The Story of Gospel Music in Ghana,” *Studies in World Christianity* 12, no. 2 (2006): 142.

Also through these music and dances, the times and seasons of the church, the mood of individuals and of the church and the community as a whole can be set, expressed and gauged. A typical example is the use of this kind of music at political rallies of political parties to galvanise support and whip up support for their parties by creating awareness of the state of the nation through the music and to tell where the nation is heading, therefore providing a basis for the message of the political parties. During Ghana's return to Democratic rule in 1992, Jewel Ackah, a previously high-life singer turned gospel singer, was contracted to compose a song as an anthem for the National Democratic Congress which was a party formed by the sitting head of state. Jewel Ackah chose to use the rhythm and lines from the hymn 'Stand stand up for Jesus' originally composed by George Duffield jr. (1818-1888).⁴³⁵ This was a very crucial time for the sitting president Jerry Rawlings who had resigned from the military as military dictator in order to continue under a democratic rule. Interestingly, the head of state had been hailed, as a Junior Jesus during his 1979 coup and therefore the lyrics of the song was a call to remembrance for Ghanaians not to dump their one time saviour. As it happened, Rawlings won and was inducted into office as democratically elected president of the fourth republic of Ghana. Once again during the 1998 elections the then main opposition commissioned a song written by Cindy Thompson, titled *Awurade Kasa* translated as 'Speak Lord'. The message of the song was a call to God to speak in the midst of all the difficulties they were facing. This captured the mood and attention of the nation at a time of economic difficulties and hardship, with some participants shedding tears. This according to observers was a game changer for the opposition and handed them victory in the 2000 election. This resembles the way indigenous religions use music to set the mood of the nation through their war songs by *Asafo Companies* in the

⁴³⁵ See www.hymnsite.com/lyrics/umh514.sht, accessed 23 August 2013.

communities.⁴³⁶ Music transcends religions and traditions in Ghana and the nature of the non-restrictive flow of music in between traditions and religions has provided the platform for certain socio-political agencies to carry out their agendas on the back of this sociological phenomenon.

Pentecostal churches in Ghana have taken advantage of the role of music and dance within the indigenous culture to maintain relevance to their communities. In some of these churches such as the RCI in Ghana, certain women are trained to play the tambourine and dance to its music. ICGC Ghana has a band called Zama and a choreography group made up of the youth who perform in the church on Sundays and special occasions. This is commonplace in many of the Pentecostal Churches and there is a set day and time where music and dance is taught as part of the church's weekly activities. Those interested in learning the musical instruments are given free tuition and the churches musical equipment is at their disposal for practice when they need it.

4.6.3 Youth, Music, Dance and Choreography in Britain

The practices described above in terms of the involvement of youths with music, dance and choreography in the Pentecostal churches in Ghana are the same in Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain, except that the context differs and the choice of music genre may be more diverse due to the youths exposure to different music genres in electronic and digital media. The prominence given to youth development by the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches through the arts, namely music, dance, and choreography, is not only a legacy of their transnational status but is also a way of keeping their youth in their churches and making the

⁴³⁶ The Asafo Companies are the traditional warrior groups within Akan communities.

church relevant to them. This is especially important when statistics show that ‘16 per cent of young people detained in Young Offender Institutions in England and Wales in 2011/12 were black’.⁴³⁷ Parents and pastors through the church want to do their bit to keep the kids off the streets and subsequently out of crime. The churches also become the place for discovering and developing the talents and abilities of these young people who sometimes feel let down by the state, because of the lack of the opportunities to realise their dreams as young black people through the development of a career alternative to the academic route. Forty four per cent of young black people capable and available for work in the twelve months to September 2012 did not have jobs compared with the national average of 24 per cent for all young people for instance.⁴³⁸ In addition, potentially only three per cent of the 44% are able to get into apprenticeship in England. In some ways the odds seem to be against these churches whose leaders turn out to be the role models of these youngsters: the responsibility falls on these leaders to work hard and creatively to develop programs that will change the life chances of black children in Britain. They therefore use music, dance and choreography as vehicles to deliver their program.

In so doing the church accommodates music that was not previously considered to be traditionally ‘gospel’ as a means to retain their youth. Readiness to adapt to the changing needs of a dynamic group of people who are also in some instances upwardly mobile is seen as the means by which the churches to can remain relevant and secure their future membership, unlike the historic mainline churches they met in Britain, whose membership is now mainly the elderly. There is a deliberate attempt to provide a church environment that would be a good fit for these young people.

⁴³⁷ Statistics obtained from the website of Black Training and Enterprise Group (BTEG); The statistics cover mainly African youth and African-Caribbean youth. www.bteg.co.uk, accessed 23 August 2013.

⁴³⁸ See www.bteg.co.uk, accessed 23 August 2013.

Making room for the current interest of street dance and rap music in Britain within the church, for example, would mean that the youth would stay in the churches. Rap music itself is said to have West African roots and therefore its appreciation by these Ghanaian youth is not a novelty. Those that might have joined their parents and been exposed to the myriad of genres of the Ghanaian music industry, might have come across hip-life which a fusion of Ghanaian high-life and western pop music. Therefore rap music is not entirely new to those groups either. As mentioned earlier, historically the Akan *Nnwomkoro* contains rap-style music, which has been a music genre of the Akan people. This rap-style music only gained popularity in the US in the 1970s as a kind of street art in African-American communities.⁴³⁹

As such, the church becomes relevant without necessarily diluting its message. This has been the trend among most African Pentecostal churches. Most African migrant parents who belong to these Pentecostal churches in Britain want their children to remain in the churches and welcome any activity that will keep their children off the street and out of trouble. This is especially so since some of them work very long hours, meaning that the church becomes their unpaid remote nanny. FCI, RCI, ICGC, DC all have defined youth ministries and notable among the programme of activities are music and dance which are considered a ministry on their own. The youth in DC are referred to as D4C (Down for Christ); in RCI they are known as Royal Teen Konnection; in ICGC they are referred to as Omega Generation; FCI refer to their youth as Regen Youth. Common to all the churches are defined activities aimed at bringing the youth up to succeed the current generation through music and dance, as music has historically been part of the worship of the church in general. As a result the performances of these youth groups during their week of celebration, a week set aside by the church to recognise the youth, showcase what they have been learning from their mentors and

⁴³⁹ See www.plasticlittleraps.com/history-of-rap-music.html, accessed 23 August 2013.

patrons in the church. Music, dance and drama play a very prominent role in the line up of the program. The type of music has ranged from Reggae, Rap and R&B, and it's likely that the leadership of the church would accept other types of music for the youth to perform, so long as it carries a message of the gospel. In recent times for instance the rhythm and tune of a Bob Marley song, *No Woman No Cry*, has been used for another music title *No Jesus No Life*, which is an example of how 'secular' music has been adapted by the youth and accepted so long as the lyrics project the gospel.⁴⁴⁰

During my research in some of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches such FCI and RCI, I observed a new dance called *Azonto* that is claimed to have been invented by a popular Ghanaian hip-life 'secular' musician called Sarkodie. The popularity of this dance in Britain grew beyond the Ghanaian migrant community when a Ghanaian volunteer at a Homeless Centre in South London was seen to be teaching Prince William and Kate, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge the *Azonto* dance moves, which some people beyond the Ghanaian community refer to as the 'swag dance'.⁴⁴¹ This dance craze has gained much popularity in Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches and has been re-named *Christo-zonto*, to reflect it's christening into the church as a Christian dance, although the actual body movements remain the same. This has come about as a result of the transnational links these churches and members have with their country of origin, establishing their transnational status. Taking something that the young men and women outside of the church can relate to becomes a tool for contextualising the gospel, and assisting the youth of the churches through music and dance to be ambassadors for the church and to bring other white members of the community into the church. As discussed earlier, apart from seeking solutions to the socio-economic

⁴⁴⁰ Soul Winners, are a group of young men from Ghana who have composed the song, *No Jesus, No Life* which follows the rhythm of Bob Marley's *No Woman , No cry*.

⁴⁴¹ See story published by the telegraph at www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/prince-william/8971827/Duke-and-Duchess-of-Cambridge-visit-homeless.html, accessed 25 August 2013.

problems of black youth in Britain, this group is also used as a tool to reach out to the communities. The church has focussed on this means of maintaining relevance to the host community, because public perception of the African Pentecostal churches as a whole makes it difficult for the older Christian migrant parents to reach out to their communities.

4.7 The Public Perception Discourse of the Ghanaian-led Churches

The public here refers to the host community who are predominantly white, members of ethnic minorities who are non-Africans and of course other Africans who belong to different Christian traditions, whose beliefs and praxis may not have been influenced by the African indigenous religions and may therefore lack understanding of the socio-cultural paradigm of the African Pentecostal churches' beliefs and praxis. The perception discourse have included criticisms that have often arisen from how the group has interpreted through the media, as well as the impact of public policy on different aspects of the migrants' lives in Britain.

Most migrants who arrive in Britain come with burdens of poverty, deprivation and in some instances the trauma of political tyrannical pursuit, it is the case that some migrants sacralise their migration and place minimal emphasis on the economic motivation for their migration.⁴⁴² As a result of the background of most of these migrants, African migrants are viewed with much scepticism, in spite of the substantial contributions that some make to British society. Instead a section of the media largely considers migrants to be scroungers and is usually excluded in consultation processes in the drafting of policy that affects the migrants themselves. The pastors of these churches in my view witness the lives of the migrants from

⁴⁴² Babatunde Adedibu, "Origin, Migration, Globalisation and the Missionary Encounter of Britain's Black Majority Churches," *Studies in World Christianity* 19, no.1 (2003): 93-113.

the time they come into the country through to their integration and independence of any form on social and welfare support, in a way that no UK Border official will, at any border post in the country. Previous research on migrants has marginalised the church as one of the most important places where migrants congregate for spiritual nourishment on a weekly basis and are supported through their difficulties by the initiatives the churches as discussed in previous chapters. The leaders and pastors of the churches, however, are excluded from any serious consultation in forming and forging meaningful immigration and integration policies. This may be because the host community do not regard these pastors, who have daily contact with the migrants and witness their struggles and have to develop schemes to assist them, as themselves being integrated enough to understand British culture to make a meaningful contribution because they have also come here as migrants.

This is in spite of the fact that the Life in the UK Test was supposed to help with the process of integration, where every individual seeking to settle in Britain would have to gain a basic understanding of British history and life. The lack of public approval of these pastors creates confusion within the migrant communities because the young people in the churches look up to the men and women who lead these churches as their role models. The lack of recognition that results from the public perception of these leaders and their churches means that most of these pastors have been limited in reaching out to the public and instead project a section of young members born in Britain as their agents of contextualisation. This is also because of the fact that the role models that the state agencies, policy makers and the host community leaders would like to project as models are mainly those born in Britain. Some African Pentecostal churches have outsourced their customer service organisation, including virtual receptions and administrative assistants, to companies owned and managed by whites in order to appear

British, integrated and therefore to be accepted.⁴⁴³ There are other instances where the church employs white staff to handle their receptions to give them an appeal to the public beyond their immediate black communities. Even those who play certain vocal roles in the church services such as MCs, and Announcers must sound British or have an accent that is close to the British tongue. Such is the daily and systemic struggle of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches to contextualise in order to remain relevant. The downside to this occurrence is that those role models outside of the churches themselves, who are projected and received the approval and recognition of the host community leaders, often want to disassociate themselves from their compatriots who were born outside the country and have migrated with their parents. Those born in the country hardly describe themselves as Africans and the result is that those they could have potentially influenced within as role models are left outside of their circles. This could also be as a result of their own struggles with acceptance as black people in the community. Due to the fact that ‘young people’s multifarious identities are, therefore, implicated in the nature of their social networks and the resources which they acquire from those connections’, the disconnection from those who they consider one of them or with whom they share an identity, leaves them in a limbo, in their definition of self.⁴⁴⁴ Arguably, notions of multiple identities are rife among these young people and they would shift towards one end of the identity spectrum provided there are positive effects of their connection to any identity they allude to, at any point in time. Weller and Kuusisto admit that there are some difficulties in trying to understand young people’s religious identities through their religious praxis.⁴⁴⁵ What they overlook, however, is the fact that religious praxis in itself

⁴⁴³ RCI between 2006 to 2010 had a virtual office where an outsourced company received it’s phone calls and re-routed it to the pastors of the churches.

⁴⁴⁴ Susie Weller, “Young people’s Social Capital: Complex identities, dynamic networks,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33, no. 5 (2010): 874.

⁴⁴⁵ Weller, ‘Young people’s Social Capital’, 882 and also see Kuusisto, A. “Religious identity based social networks as facilitators of teenagers’ social capital: a case study on Adventist families in Finland,” in H. Helve

is shaped by the culture of the parents; therefore, to reinforce the argument I made earlier, young people would find it much easier to look up to role models from their socio-cultural surroundings, whose identities they can trace and identify with. The result of this is that there is distrust of some of the institutions that have state recognition. There are highly educated migrants who are working in jobs below their capabilities and below their academic attainments; they are not in the top echelons of society because they lack the opportunity to reach the top, in order to 'qualify' as role models. There is a systemic failure in the approach of British society as a whole in dealing with migrants and until there is a change, highly skilled and educated migrants would continue to voluntarily sit on the fringes or remain within their zones of marginalisation. This has and will continue to develop inertia in the process of contextualisation and contributing to their host community. If this phenomenon continues without being attended to, African churches would remain African and for that matter Ghanaian-led Churches would remain Ghanaian as they would have no choice but limit their influence to the Ghanaian community. They would want to maintain the status quo to preserve their identity as Africans and Ghanaians in order not to get lost in their attempt to gain recognition within the wider sphere of society.

The other public perception of the African Pentecostal churches is that they are often referred to by their origins. This does not only affect the Pentecostal churches; for instance, the Presbyterian Church formed by members of the Presbyterian Church from Ghana is called Ghana Presbyterian Church; there is also the Ghana Wesleyan Methodist church. The challenge for these churches and the tags they are given is a result of the cultural infusion into the general identity of the churches because of where they have come from. In spite of

and J. Bynner (eds), *Youth and Social Capital* (London: Tufnell Press, 2007), 87-102.

boasting of other nationalities, members of these churches still consider themselves primarily Ghanaian but generally multicultural.⁴⁴⁶ The differences of the experiences and the praxis of the African churches from those of the other churches, coupled with the background of the migrants that are the majority in these churches, makes people from the host communities not give them the needed recognition. The applied content of what these churches do and the positive effects of their ministry to young marginalised people are often glossed over because of the minute differences they have from predominant white churches.⁴⁴⁷ It seems as though the proverbial ‘can anything good come out of Nazareth’ is often applied due to the context these churches have originated from, forgetting that there are people that these churches attend to who may be missed by the state or other state sponsored agencies in providing them with assistance in their time of need.

Some of these African churches take their ritual performances to the extreme, such as the use of the anointing oil; some of them have been alleged to extort money from their poor migrant members; pastors have been accused of aiding and abetting the abuse of children; and providing false hopes for the sick they pray for as being healed when not passed and signed off by medical professionals.⁴⁴⁸ These allegations notwithstanding, there are often generalisations in the mass media, which use isolated cases to brand these African churches as all being scandalous.⁴⁴⁹ For those who may never visit or attend an African church this may produce a negative perception of the churches, which could affect those individuals’ acceptance of these churches in their communities as agents of change or spiritual vitality,

⁴⁴⁶ Respondents from the churches view of their own identity and church identity. They are Ghanaian at the core and yet multicultural by practice to remain relevant to society. First Round Interviews conducted between July 2012 and January 2013.

⁴⁴⁷ I argue among other things in chapter 5, that this perception among the leadership of the churches makes them develop a pan-African mentality of proving society wrong through the projects the churches undertake to establish their relevance.

⁴⁴⁸ ‘Boys Used for Human Sacrifice’ a BBC news item published on 16 June 2005 found at <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/uk/4098172.stm>, accessed on 12 May 2014.

⁴⁴⁹ For further information on a newspaper article criticising practices in an African church.

which most of these churches believe they bring to the host community in the context of reverse mission. The pastors of these churches consider these negative public perceptions as impediments from the devil to resist the work of God and to slow down the process of reverse mission.

In addition to issues of differing perceptions, whilst the level of contextualisation will determine the extent of host communities' acceptance of African churches, they have a 'divine mandate' to revitalise the spirituality of their host communities, and therefore can only make marginal changes in the message and approach. For instance the British perception of the church as a registered charity would be to provide support to the vulnerable in society and generally in doing good works in the community: the Ghanaian-led churches and for that matter the African churches believe that the priority is the preaching of the gospel that 'saves' people and that doing charity work is only a by product of the preaching of the Word of God.⁴⁵⁰ The difference in the theological approaches is that the British public would rather accept the faith on the basis of works to humankind whilst the churches approach is based on accepting the word and the works would follow.⁴⁵¹

⁴⁵⁰ This was a debate that took place between the African Pastors and the English pastors at training programme organized by Stewardship at Hemel Hempstead.

⁴⁵¹ Pastors of the Ghanaian-led churches argue that the older historic churches have projects for humanitarian purposes but have lost the primary responsibility to preach salvation to save lost souls. They argue that there would be no use to feed a person and watch them go to hell. You must snatch them from hell fire and also feed them. Discussions from first round of interviews conducted from July 2012 to January 2013.

4.8 Summary and Discussion

Within the context of reverse mission the purpose of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches' agenda would be to bring the gospel of Jesus to the white British community. The process by which they can get the gospel to their host community would be to put the gospel in a familiar package to make it relevant to them and easier to accept. This becomes of utmost importance because the Ghanaian Pentecostal Christianity in Britain has cultural orientation, which influence the interpretation of the Bible, and the praxis that follows from this. The practice of deliverance; naming ceremonies; libation prayer language and its use in Pentecostal prayer; prophetic consultation; and music and dance have special characteristics that leaves little doubt that they have been influenced by the Pentecostal churches in Ghana, which have in turn been heavily influenced by the indigenous religions. It can be agreed that some of the practices of the churches in Britain have been overhauled from their original form in Ghana but by and large they still have those distinctive features traceable ultimately to the indigenous religions.

The process of contextualisation in the case of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches would involve balancing the weight of its' cultural baggage to make their Christianity relevant within the British cultural context. That would also mean that it adds African flavour to the interpretations of scripture and its subsequent practice. This enables it to and remains relevant and appealing to the Ghanaian in Britain, who is familiar with this kind of Christianity. Because of this, and due to bad public perception arising from negative representations in the mass media these churches have resorted to focussing on their own community to whom they are relevant. Their practices of the principles of scripture have been derived by their own scriptural interpretations through the lens of their culture. Since the indigenous religions are

part of the culture of the people, it makes their type of Christianity African; this is sometimes difficult for the predominantly white host community to appreciate or accept. In order to pursue their reverse mission agenda and carry their message into the host community, they use the young members of their churches born in Britain to reach out. The host communities find it easier to accept these young people, whereas the leaders – although they are role models to the youngsters – do not have the recognition and approval of the host community.⁴⁵² This lack of recognition has nothing to do with the contribution of these churches to the social-economic or cultural development of Britain, but rather is because the kind of Christianity of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches is different and has not as yet been very well understood.

⁴⁵² This is a strong perception shared by a session of Ghanaian Pentecostal leaders in discussing their struggles with their reverse mission agenda and problems with their identity in relation to their influence in society. Second round of limited interviews conducted in February 2013 to March 2013.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE RIPPLES OF THE TRANSNATIONAL STATUSES OF THE CHURCHES IN BRITAIN

5.1 Introduction

As the previous chapter showed, the fluid socio-cultural dynamics of relations between the Pentecostal churches and their host community somehow pushes the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches to first focus on themselves. As a result, and as chapter three demonstrated, the integration strategies adopted by churches to assist members to integrate into the larger host community are managed internally within the churches. These initiatives assist members to internally fit into the churches and to co-exist through helping the individuals to be productive but at the same time providing them with the tools for integration into the larger society. In spite of these churches being pushed into obscurity and often designated by the public as ‘specific ethnic churches’ such as ‘Ghanaian churches’ or even ‘Congolese churches’, some have managed to make significant, recognisable contributions to their host communities, and these have aided their integration into these communities. These contributions include changes to the religious landscape and social and economic infrastructural development as part of community regeneration. These contributions are discussed in depth in the sections that follow in this chapter. Following through the argument that the characteristics of the churches give them a transnational status, not only do the churches contribute to the British communities in which they are located, but they also contribute to communities where they have ties in Ghana. These ties are usually ethnic ties defined by the pastors’ and leaders’ origins in Ghana, covering the areas where the pastors

and leaders start with their ministries; they are also generally areas where there is a notable need that draws a national attention.

In this chapter, the contributions described in the paragraph above will be used as the framework to analyse simultaneously and concurrently, the churches' individual contributions both in Britain and in Ghana

5.2 Changes to the Religious landscape

Due to the influx of migrants from various African nations from the 1960s onwards, there has been a significant change to the religious landscape in Britain, and London has become the melting point of these cultures. A walk through parts of London on a Sunday would reveal church-going people from different parts of the world in different church uniforms that identify them to specific cultural origins. For instance a walk along Old Kent Road would reveal the myriads of churches especially from sub-Saharan Africa. This is so at a time when there is a general decline in the membership of African-Caribbean initiated churches and the mainline historic churches.⁴⁵³ There seems to be a resurgence of the 'noisy' African Christianity that is far from the solemn and 'quiet' church services held by the mainline historic churches in Britain. The fact that these churches are springing up everywhere in classrooms, theatres, leisure centres, libraries and disused warehouses, shows that purpose built facilities to hold a body of believers to be equipped to profess their faith is not always the norm. When talking about the place of meeting, it was clear from some of the respondents that apart from the fact that they believe that they have been sent by God to bring the gospel

⁴⁵³ Richard Burgess, "African Pentecostal spirituality and civic engagement: the case of the Redeemed Christian Church of God in Britain," *Journal of Beliefs & Values* 30, no. 3 (2009): 255–273.

back to those who first brought it to them, they are the body of Christ and for that matter the church, and the church is not necessarily the bricks and mortar infrastructure in which they hold their meetings; they do however underscore the importance of the buildings for their church, hence the purchase of landmark buildings for services.⁴⁵⁴ These Pentecostals argue that the presence of God is anywhere His people represent Him and the kind of infrastructure in which they hold their services in itself testifies of the revival that God is in the process of bringing to Britain through their churches, and that churches are not only meant to be purpose-built beautiful edifices with stained glass windows.⁴⁵⁵ They argue that before this time this was not how churches were organised and generally looked like in Britain: this is a patronising statement from the migrants as most ‘non-conformist’ churches in Britain at their beginning had similar histories regarding meeting places. Holding church services in unconventional buildings such as classrooms, and theatres for instance by Pentecostals, has changed the face of Christianity in its organisation in Britain, as borough councils across Britain have in recent years been granting planning permission for the change of use of various buildings to be converted to churches. The issue of infrastructure will be analysed adequately in the next section of this chapter.

These Pentecostal Christians of West African origin believe that very soon British Christianity will be defined on the basis of the Christianity of the African-led churches and not the mainline historic churches, in two main ways. Firstly, that there will have been a transformation of the beliefs and practices of the mainline historic churches to reflect a new age of spiritual vigour that the church has received from the Lord.⁴⁵⁶ To buttress this point they cite an instance where some parishes of the mainline historic churches of Britain in areas

⁴⁵⁴ Interview responses from DC, FCI, ICGC and RCI on the question of the contribution of the churches to the communities they belong to. Interviews conducted in the summer of 2012.

⁴⁵⁵ Views expressed by a majority of the respondents in the interviews conducted.

⁴⁵⁶ Focus groups discussions on the impact of the African-led churches on religiosity in Britain.

with quite a large number of African migrant population have introduced a style of worship which is characteristically African, or borrowed from the African Pentecostal churches probably because of the Pentecostalisation of African Christianity in general.⁴⁵⁷ It is not clear from what perspective these churches have introduced those ‘African aspects of worship’ into their worship but due to the unverifiable nature of the information provided, it is probable that the strategy is to attract the African community in general because of the cultural constituents of those particular communities. However, if this is the case, there is a question as to whether it could be adopted by other parishes, as has been the case in some African-Caribbean churches.⁴⁵⁸

Secondly, the respondents believe there will arise the situation where the presence of the African Pentecostal churches generally, will continue to reinvigorate the other mainline historic churches back to growing membership and to a prominent place as a significant Christian voice in the nation.⁴⁵⁹ They assume that the success of these churches will challenge the mainline historical churches to spiritualise their services and Christianity a bit more to provide the public with a genuinely alternative lifestyle. Some scholars have described this kind of Christianity with its beliefs and praxis as African Christianity but for many of these African migrant Pentecostal Christians, it’s just a pragmatic, biblical way of serving God and enjoying the benefits of this service to God. Highlighting differences between the types of Christianity is met with scepticism as a way of denigrating the success of these churches in Britain because for a long time the main British Pentecostal churches have not done so well in consistently attracting huge numbers of people to their services compared to the African-led

⁴⁵⁷ I make reference of the Ghana Presbyterian Church and the Ghana Wesleyan Methodist Church in Chapter 4 which has aspects of Pentecostal worship due to the Pentecostalisation of African Christianity in general.

⁴⁵⁸ Doreen Morrison, “Reaching for the Promised Land: the role of culture, issues of leadership and social stratification within British Caribbean Christianity,” (PhD Diss.; University of Birmingham, 2014), 89-122.

⁴⁵⁹ Views expressed in a group discussion with the Pastor and leaders of ICGC, London to thank them for granting interviews. 28 September 2013.

churches, in since the time of George Jeffreys of the Elim Pentecostal Church, and in more recent times Paul Scanlon of the Abundant Life Church, now known as Life Church UK who attracted a significant number of worshippers.⁴⁶⁰ For these churches, the focus of their message, beliefs and praxis is a Christianity that works. A biblical explanation often used to characterise this *modus operandi* is the fact that ‘the God who created the heavens is the same God who also created the earth’, in other words the God of the spiritual is the God of the physical and therefore the spirit must have expression in the worship services, such as healing, prophesying among others. This perception is in line with the theological basis adopted by the Pentecostals to back their expressions of worship, which also gives the churches their distinctiveness in comparison to others, especially the Christianity of the mainline historical churches. And in as much as Pentecostalism generally embraces that belief that is consequently expressed in their worship, for Ghanaian-led Pentecostals it has become even more imperative, as their indigenous cosmology and religious beliefs enforces those forms. These forms are so inextricably intertwined with their culture that it’s impossible to perceive otherwise or consider any other way of worshipping as authentic, apart from the way that they do it.

Ninety per cent of all respondents believe that the African-led Pentecostal churches have changed the landscape of Christianity and the organisation of church services as a whole.⁴⁶¹ Some cited open public advertisement of church conferences in the mass media as an

⁴⁶⁰ A Brief Biography of George Jeffreys of the Elim Pentecostal Church found at <http://healingandrevival.com/BioGJeffreys.htm>, accessed on 15 June 2014; For further information on Paul Scanlon of the Life Church, UK and its history see <http://www.lifechurchhome.com/store/teaching/paul-scanlon.html>, accessed 15 June 2014. Recent pages on the website on the church leadership has excluded Paul Scanlon but as the founder he’s had a profound impact on the establishment and growth of the church.

⁴⁶¹ 90% of respondents represent about 36 respondents made up of church leaders and members combined, interviewed for the research.

example.⁴⁶² This is in addition to the advertisements shown on the Christian TV and radio stations owned by the churches. The advertisements for instance have gone as far as posting huge paper posters at public places, advertising on double decker London buses, hoardings at public places, and placing flyers in supermarkets. These initiatives are not something entirely new to the British scene as some of the mainline historic churches do the same but it is the consistency, conviction and dependence on it as a strategy of outreach.⁴⁶³ The pastor of RCI, mentioned an innovative way they have adopted to advertise their church and special conferences of the church. They have a bus that is used by a small number of members who cannot drive to their services. On these buses they have the names of the church and their service times and phone numbers written. According to him, on occasions they would stick posters of conferences on the bus to advertise the conferences.⁴⁶⁴ This and many other innovative strategies are used to attract worshippers and those who also feel that the churches have got answers to their problems. This, to an extent, is a bit further from the advertising campaigns that most of the mainline historic churches would be prepared to do. As unconventional as it may be according to these churches, it is an attempt of the churches to make use of contemporary mediums of reaching out to the communities of their churches. Other methods have included writing to members of their communities through details obtained from the edited electoral register for their local areas. Access to these personal details enables them to write personal letters to appeal to residents with their message and also to extend a hand of fellowship to those who may want to visit them and worship with

⁴⁶² Views collected from the 40 respondents to the questionnaires given to them in response to the contribution of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain.

⁴⁶³ I have come across billboards, hoardings that carry advertisements from the Church of England in Olney, Milton Keynes.

⁴⁶⁴ Pastor Charles Benneh, senior Pastor of RCI, in a chat about my research when I visited to thank him for allowing the researcher to collect data. The visit was undertaken on 29 September 2012.

them.⁴⁶⁵ In some cases some vulnerable and needy people have been visited because of their response to the churches' initial contact. The church in these cases has provided support to these persons. The strategy has been to bring the church to the homes of the people through charitable work. However, what changes landscape is not only the provision of support to people in their homes but also the modes of contact itself. The head of Welfare of ICGC, Mr Goodman, states that together with the Outreach team who oversee this initiative, the church have helped about 10 needy people around the Walthamstow, Chingford and Leytonstone vicinity, which are close proximity to the location of the church. According to him, of the 10 people visited and supported, four are from ethnic minorities whilst six are white British. They don't leave them but sustain and maintain a relationship with these people, anticipating that that they will one day make the decision to come to the church. He also stated that one of the four mentioned above was actually a Ghanaian illegal migrant who had cancer and could no longer seek medical care because he had not registered with the NHS and had been living in the country illegally.⁴⁶⁶ This brings into focus a story that came to national attention, where an illegal Ghanaian immigrant with kidney cancer, Ama Sumani, was deported to Ghana and died shortly after.⁴⁶⁷ In Sumani's case it was only after the deportation that one of the churches participating this research got to know, and supported a fundraising effort to provide her with medical care in South Africa. This goes to illustrate the important role the churches play in providing support to members of their communities irrespective of their ethnic lineages, having dared to position themselves as dependable community assets.

⁴⁶⁵ The copy electoral roll is normally obtained from the local council for a fee.

⁴⁶⁶ Mr Goodman is the head of the Welfare Ministry of the ICGC and been involved strategizing ways of providing relief to the 10 people who responded to the contact of the church with a need. A discussion held with Mr Good on a thank you visit to ICGC on 28 September 2012.

⁴⁶⁷ The Ama Sumani Story. It is not clear what support any of the Ghanaian churches was able to give to Ama. Pastors I spoke to seem to have got to know about it after the deportation. But one of the churches which claims to have supported a fundraising effort to take her to South Africa after the deportation for treatment. See <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/wales/7305963.stm> and also <http://www.theguardian.com/uk/2008/mar/20/immigration.immigrationandpublicservices>, accessed 29 September 2013.

Apart from the above humanitarian outreaches, there have been instances where, permission has been sought from authorities to have little gigs in market places to create the opportunity to preach the gospel, as people are attracted to the music and singing in town centre areas. All these aggressive strategies of reaching out to the communities by the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches have dramatically transformed the landscape of Christianity in Britain. As although some scholars claim there is a general decline in Christianity, it depends on where one is looking, as through these Pentecostal churches Christianity is made ever more visible. The question that arises however is whether they are recognised as having an impact on Christianity as a whole or are they only seen by those who are a part of those churches, affirming the suggestion that these Pentecostal churches have become somewhat inward looking.

From the perspective of the African churches there is the need for the church to have an independent voice that arises from its convictions rather than being propped up by those who are given their place through the recognition of the state.⁴⁶⁸ Some of the leaders of the churches mentioned state quite categorically that the current economic woes of Britain are due to the fact that the country has rejected God, resulting in a decline in the prosperity of its people and that a change will only occur when the nation return to the Lord.⁴⁶⁹ Some would narrow this phenomenon down to globalisation through migration but the changes that African-led Pentecostal churches in general and Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in particular are affecting in the landscape of Christianity in Britain is happening because of the spiritual invigoration, brought into Britain by these churches. It is clear from the perspective of some of the members and leadership of these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches, that the

⁴⁶⁸ This statement is made in reference by Mrs A Twum, in talking about the lack of recognition given to African led churches in spite of their services to the nation.

⁴⁶⁹ An informal meeting to thank one of the pastors of the churches used as case studies in this research, which wanted to remain anonymous on this statement. Interview conducted on 29 March 2013.

spiritual impact and effect of their presence and contribution in Britain has been very important in reshaping the landscape of Christianity in contemporary Britain.

5.2.1 The changing landscape: contra-flow of the transnational influence

Apart from these churches changing the landscape of Christianity in Britain, they have also changed the landscape of Christianity in Ghana. This change has occurred in two ways: first through the access of the pastors and leaders of churches in Ghana to the Pentecostal churches in Britain. Within the Ghanaian cultural paradigm, people have respect for anything that comes from Britain for historical reasons. As a result, this raises their status in Ghana and brings respect to their churches' standing in Ghana. A visit to the Facebook accounts of some of Ghana's pastors reveal pictures proudly published of pastors posing by famous monuments in London, with famous Ghanaian pastors who they call on whilst in Britain, as well as pictures of them preaching in churches.⁴⁷⁰ There is a perception that ministers invited to minister abroad from Ghana are successful, due to their recognition by the churches in Britain. In fact the pastors may only be friends of these pastors in Britain or might have been introduced by other friends of the pastors to them; they have not necessarily been invited for a special or peculiar ministry they have to deliver to the church. Having said that, some of these pastors are sought-after popular speakers within the Ghanaian Pentecostal church circles and speak at conferences organised by the churches, as mentioned in chapter three.

The second change has been the influence from the British Ghanaian-led and African-led churches and their leaders on the church organisation strategies and practices of churches in

⁴⁷⁰ The researcher accessed the Facebook account of some of the pastors, which had both private and official pictures in and outside their churches.

Ghana. These ranges from ancillary influences that include the type of songs used as part of their worship services and, relatedly, the use of the English language for the services. Over the years, music within Pentecostal churches has been used as the means to invoke the presence of Spirit to enable them to worship and praise God.⁴⁷¹ Songs were used to set the atmosphere for the working of the Spirit and for personal encouragement, as some of the songs are mainly used to minister to one another. The motive and style of songs used in African Pentecostal churches shares some affinities with the way music is used in African indigenous culture, as discussed in the previous chapter, although in African indigenous worship the songs are used for the invocation of the gods and deities.

The songs from the west that most influenced worship by the Pentecostal churches were primarily from Maranatha! Music, a group from the United States who had much influence in Pentecostal churches in Britain. However, it seems as though this has lost ground to Integrity Music, which is another American label that produces artists mainly from the Pentecostal Charismatic stream and lately Hillsong from Australia.⁴⁷² These songs which are widely used in Pentecostal churches in Britain are exported to Ghana, where they are considered by many to be British Gospel Music.⁴⁷³ These have been adopted by most of the churches in Ghana and the songs are reproduced live for the worship services. This has not only been a result of Ghanaian church leaders' direct contact with churches in Britain or the western hemisphere but also through the work of Nigerian music pirates who produce cheap copies of this Christian music for the Ghanaian market. Without discussing the ethical implications of their actions for the record labels and artist, most worship leaders in the churches have access to

⁴⁷¹Mark Jennings, "Won't you break free?" An ethnography of music and the divine-human encounter at an Australian Pentecostal Church," *Culture and Religion: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, no. 9 (2008): 162.

⁴⁷² More information of Integrity Music at <http://integritymusic.com/about/>, accessed 06 April 2015.

⁴⁷³ The notion that Maranatha! songs and music comes from Britain was a widely held, even by the researcher until recently, as most of the CD and tapes were brought in by migrants from Britain in the late 1980s to 90s.

this pirated music and teach their church members, choirs and praise teams to sing the songs. In addition to this style of music, youthful rap gospel music has also caught on very well with the Pentecostal churches in Ghana, mainly because they have been accepted by the churches in Britain. The successful adaptation to this is due to the fact that this type of music is used for the invocation of the Spirit, which is an element in Pentecostal worship with influences from the African indigenous religion. Currently most of the songs are in English and this makes it easier for other parts of the services to be conducted in English. The appeal for these songs and style of worship is as a result of the growth of the middle-income sector of the population and young members who have had contact with churches abroad, especially during their time as students. In addition to this ancillary transnational influence there are two significant areas of influence: the strict adherence to time, and the use of the mass media in advancing the cause of the pastors, their churches and the gospel.

5.2.1.1 Strict Adherence to Time

In the early stages of the emergence of the Pentecostal church in Ghana, worship services were conducted over several hours. For instance at ICGC Ghana, RCI Ghana, Action Chapel, Global Revival Ministries and the Full Gospel Evangelical Ministry, in the late 1980s and 1990s church services were held from 9am to about 3pm. The length of time the churches spent in worship services was itself underpinned by the whole African concept of time, which according to Mbiti is ‘time is simply a composition of events which have occurred, those which are taking place now and those which are immediately to occur’.⁴⁷⁴ Therefore time to the African is a continuum of events with no specific point for commencement and

⁴⁷⁴ John S Mbiti. *African Religions and Philosophy* (London: Heineman 1969), 17.

completion: this amounts to what most westerners would regard as a disregard for time.

Due to the influence of western lifestyles on migrants, this has changed and a post-migration attitude to time has emerged among those who have spent a period of time in the west. The insurgence of foreign direct investments into Ghana during the fourth republic also saw these foreign firms demanding a certain level of efficiency of their labour force, which includes a change in attitude and conceptions of time. Amongst other factors, such as the level of education for pastors, this has given rise to this wave of change not only among Africans but also among African-Caribbean.⁴⁷⁵ However, there are still some Pentecostal churches that have very lengthy church services. At the time of the emergence of the movement, many of their congregants were students and had time on their hands.⁴⁷⁶ The then student congregants are now the cream of the labour force and can no longer afford to spend the whole day in church. The growth of the country's economy to a middle-income status also means that people in certain firms and industries have to work longer hours to meet employers' targets.⁴⁷⁷ They also have young families to spend time with after being away for work most part of the week. Another factor is that holding multiple services in the same building means that services have to be relatively short to accommodate the second group of congregants. Even more important is that some of the congregants who had migrated to Britain for further studies were exposed to the British way of life due to their interaction with some of the churches they attended whilst in Britain, giving them the post-migration attitude described above. They have therefore developed a consciousness for saving time at church to be spent

⁴⁷⁵ Gregory John Roberts, *Entrepreneurship : an African Caribbean perspective Doctoral* (Ph.D. Thes.: University of Birmingham, 2009), 287.

⁴⁷⁶ Ogbu Kalu, "Pentecostalism and Mission in Africa," *Mission Studies* 24, (2007): 9-45.

⁴⁷⁷ Del Granado. Francisco Javier Arze del Granado. "Ghana's Advance to Middle-income Status Requires Firm Policies" IMF African Department, <http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/survey/so/2013/car061213a.htm>. accessed on 12 October 2013.

on other areas of life. Most of the pastors of the churches have also been exposed to the way church is organised and run in the Northern hemisphere, particularly Britain.⁴⁷⁸

These visits have shown these pastors alternative ways of saving time and making judicious use of time for their services. Not only is this innovative for these churches but it is also necessary to keep their members, especially those within the middle income bracket who can only make it to Sunday services due to work commitments. Two churches I visited in Ghana in between November 2012 and March 2013 have Bible Study session and other ministry meetings on other days of the week in addition to the Sunday worship services.⁴⁷⁹ The pastors of these churches regularly travel to Britain and it is my assertion that it is partly a transnational influence that has shaped the strict adherence to time. There are instances where pastors have returned to Ghana from Britain after their studies and have introduced changes to the strict adherence to time. Although the churches in Britain are not perfect in their adherence to time, strict adherence to time is promoted using strategies such as stating the time in African time and 'GMT', jokingly keeping members on their toes to adhere to time.⁴⁸⁰ Another factor affecting the churches in Britain are also that because some of the places of worship are rented premises, caretakers and landlords strictly enforce the time. In effect some of the changes that have taken place on the religious landscape in Ghana have been both transnational and local factors feeding into each other to produce the changes now experienced. It has become a cycle where local indigenous factors shape Ghanaian Pentecostalism, these affect Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain, which in turn are also shaped by contextual factors in Britain. These changes then affect the Pentecostal

⁴⁷⁸ Roberts. *Entrepreneurship: an African Caribbean perspective*, 289.

⁴⁷⁹ A participant observation visits to ICGC Sakumono on 04 November 2012; and ICGC Koforidua on 17/03/2013 and Glorious Impact Ministries 15 March 2013 in Accra, Ghana.

⁴⁸⁰ A statement made at the Dominion Centre at one of the services, where the researcher was an observant participant, on 05 August 2013.

churches in Ghana because of the continued ties there. In another way, local factors push people to study in Britain, whilst in Britain they imbibe the British/Ghanaian-led religious culture and on their return effect changes that produces transnational results. The relationship between both individuals and churches does not actually cease with the movements of individuals across the countries but it is rather strengthened further by the continuous movements of these same people or their other associates. Apart from the physical movement across borders for contact between the migrants' current place of abode and place of origin, there is the use of various mass media and social networking platforms with which contact is made and information is disseminated.

5.2.1.2 Use of Mass Media and Social Networking Platforms by Ghanaian Churches

The transnational influence of Ghanaian Pentecostal churches in Britain, in the area of media use has been phenomenal. The process of globalisation and the technological revolution has made it possible for churches to be able to disseminate information across borders without going through physical borders. This has aided the sharing of information from one church to another and enabled churches to develop cultures that can be easily seen somewhere else on the planet. Therefore one can visit a church in Britain with an African pastor whose church worship style looks American; and one can also visit a church in Ghana that looks like a church in Britain. This is understood in the context that they are not a corporate group but have different organisational forms yet forged for themselves a specific religious identity that makes them identifiable to a larger global movement. These churches either in America, Britain or Ghana use the media to share their desirable cultures some of which are applicable

in other contexts, therefore creating some form of connection with others in other places.⁴⁸¹ This amalgamation and unification of church ideas and cultures has made some churches transnational, to an extent. For example churches copy infrastructure designs or styles of worship and pastors even copy-preaching styles from others they admire and consider more successful. In effect some become surrogates of others somewhere that they may not necessarily be connected to culturally, therefore creating ambiguous transnational relationships around the world. The transfer of ideas transculturally has been referred to by Wilson as a 'new kind of relativism in men's thinking'⁴⁸² These churches, their pastors or congregants are not necessarily from the same places of origin and yet they have a strong bond through a shared common church culture.⁴⁸³ This is because the ideas espoused by these global church actors are well 'transportable and transposable to different cultural contexts'.⁴⁸⁴ The strategies they use to reach out to the public globally are also shared. For instance there are a lot of similarities shared among churches' use of media technology in Ghana and African churches generally in Britain, apart from the similarities with Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches. This has taken the connections between the churches and the resulting networks to new global levels as they are set to increase and become widespread as technological advances are made.⁴⁸⁵

The participation of the churches in globalisation has revealed their apt use of technology such as multi media and social media to reach out beyond their immediate confines to make disciples of the nations. Its worthy of note that this occurrence lacks a deliberate design or framework, the extent of usage of the media has been dependent on the results that individual

⁴⁸¹ Hackett, "Charismatic and Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana," 259.

⁴⁸² Bryan Wilson, *Religion in Sociological Perspective* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), 129.

⁴⁸³ Schiller et al, "Beyond the ethnic lens: locality, globality, and born-again incorporation," 612 - 633.

⁴⁸⁴ Thomas J. Csordas, "Introduction: modalities of transnational transcendence," *Anthropological Theory* 7, no. 3, (2007): 261.

⁴⁸⁵ Hackett, "Charismatic and Pentecostal Appropriation of Media Technologies in Nigeria and Ghana," 258.

churches are able to derive from the media use and their willingness to invest more to exploit it even more.

The Ghanaian-led churches in Britain use the mass media to advertise the God they worship, to promote their pastors within their church organisation and to show the world that they are. FCI, RCI, and DC have programmes on paid-for TV and radio stations. ICGC occasionally pays for airtime on TV and radio for their advertisements. These motives for the use of the mass media are all encoded in an ideology that works within the framework of their theology, and this ideology is also transferable across borders.⁴⁸⁶ The churches in Ghana use the media and social networking platforms with the same motives. The overriding aim is ultimately to increase their following not only locally but also globally. From a transnational point of view they seek to incorporate their converts into a global community of believers and to use these relationships to influence and to be influenced in the playing field of global Christianity.⁴⁸⁷ Considering that this is the motive for the use of the mass media by the Pentecostal churches in Ghana and the Ghanaian-led churches in Britain, one is tempted to ask where this influence on the churches in Britain has actually come from. This question arises from an Akan ideological saying that ‘ahenepa nkasa’, literally translated: ‘very good beads do not make noise when they rub against each other’; meaning that any good thing does not announce itself. This is a prevalent cultural ideology in most Ghanaian communities, so one might ask the question as to whether the use of mass media is a noise-making platform and therefore constitutes a foreign influence and for that matter its use a recent phenomenon in the Ghanaian Christian community. The answer to this question may lie in globalisation, in that

⁴⁸⁶ John Fiske, *Television Culture* (New York: Routledge. 1987), 9.

⁴⁸⁷ Nina Glick Schiller, and Ayse Caglar, “And ye shall possess it and dwell therein’: social citizenship, global Christianity and nonethnic immigrant incorporation,” in Deborah Reed-Danahay and Caroline Brettell (eds), *Immigration and Citizenship in Europe and the United States: Anthropological Perspectives* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2008), 201-225.

mass media use occurs not only among the churches but also among practitioners of indigenous religions and their shrines.⁴⁸⁸

On a recent trip to Ghana, from Accra in the Greater Accra Region to Koforidua in the Eastern Region, one could see about eight big sign boards advertising the services of the priests of these shrines, in the small towns and villages along the main roads.⁴⁸⁹ This is a recent development in Ghana due to the rise to fame of Nana Kwaku Bonsam who had regular appearances on the mass media to represent the indigenous religions in religious debates. He seems to have taken over from where Osofo Komfo Damoah, the leader of the Afrikania Mission left off with his weekly broadcast.⁴⁹⁰ Therefore not only has Pentecostals' use of the mass media become part of Pentecostal self-definition, but it has also become part of the self-definition of religion in general through globalisation.⁴⁹¹ The mass media is exploited by the Pentecostal churches in both Ghana and in Britain because it is regarded as an 'icon of modernity'.⁴⁹² In spite of the fact that some rather low standard and shoddy representations in the mass media (such as TV, Radio, Internet and the social media) exposes the ill-preparedness of some of these churches to venture into a global playing field, they are determined to stay there as they feel its use maintains their relevance to the public, in the same way as their physical infrastructure, such as buildings gives them a presence in the areas where they are situated.

⁴⁸⁸ Bernard Appiah, "Christianity in Indigenous Cultures," 53-54.

⁴⁸⁹ A trip by the researcher to Ghana on the 11th-18th November 2013.

⁴⁹⁰ Peter B. Clarke (ed), *Encyclopedia of New Religious Movements*. (London : Routledge, 2006).

⁴⁹¹ Maxwell, "Editorial," 255.

⁴⁹² Asamoah-Gyadu, "Anointing through the Screen," 13.

5.3 Community Regeneration through Socio-Economic Infrastructural Development

Church buildings are the focal point of the communities in which they are built. In most societies most of the rites of passage of members of the community, namely christening, first communion, confirmation, weddings and funeral services are all held there. This is even more important especially among the migrant communities who consider the church as a major source of support for them and their families. Therefore the building up or the destruction of a church building can bring joy or can be devastating.⁴⁹³ For Ghanaian migrant Pentecostals, this is even more important as the church serves as the place of their social integration into wider British society: it also serves as a place for economic empowerment; as a place for religious education and worship; as a place they consider entirely theirs; and as a place where they reaffirm their identity as people of African descent. As a result of the migrants' perspective on the church, 'the church and community continue to be highly integrated, and religious practices of the church often affect other areas of community life', as seen in chapter 3.⁴⁹⁴ Apart from the migrant members' individual benefits from the churches, the acquisition of permanent places of worship can be considered as a sign of social regeneration of the communities. Firstly, because of the programmes and activities of the churches which are geared towards empowering individuals of the church. And secondly, because these churches rarely have land on which to build new churches so they resort to buying disused warehouses and dilapidated cinema halls and refurbish them and turn them into places of worship. The result is that economic activity in the area is boosted because the churches draw a lot of people into the area and there is a possibility that some members may decide to relocate closer to the location of the church at some point. There is also significant economic activity on the

⁴⁹³ Carolyn S. Carter, "Church burning in African American communities: Implications for empowerment practice," *Social Work* 44, no. 1 (1999): 62-68.

⁴⁹⁴ Nancy Boyd-Franklin, *Black families in therapy* (New York: Guilford Press, 1989), 129.

premises of these churches. In DC for instance the church operates a snacks shop where members make purchases after their worship services; they also have a book shop which sells popular Christian literature to members and the public, generating income for the church and employment for the bookshop attendants who are also members of the church. DC has 3 bookshop attendants. The story is quite different in ICGC, RCI and FCI, although the RCI and ICGC currently have no bookshop; members of the church trade in various merchandises from their car boots after service. The items sold included, men and women shirts, children's wear and African food items such as yam, plantain, palm oil, chin chin and gari. This happens because there is a location and a building from where these activities take place. Of the churches examined as case studies, DC has their own building on the Wood Green High Road, FCI own their church building, which also houses Eagle Media House, an initiative of the church, and employs members of the church on site. It has plans to set up a radio and television station in the near future. ICGC is in the advanced stages of purchasing a £3.5m property in Barking East London and intend to spend about £2m in the first phase of its refurbishment for use. The facility will house their Employability Skills Training Centre and also the future home of a Bible college. RCI are saving to purchase a property in South East London, according to the pastor in charge there.⁴⁹⁵

This orientation towards social engagement is in itself transnational and is adopted from other earlier independent churches in Africa as Turner points out. In the past, some of the African independent churches in Africa set up economic initiatives as a means of self-support for the inhabitants of the deprived areas where they were located.⁴⁹⁶ This transnational element of

⁴⁹⁵ Information obtained from Pastors and leaders of the churches visited during the fieldwork. The churches seem to have a clear idea of the regeneration agenda of the government and civil society organization seeking to support poorer communities.

⁴⁹⁶ Harold C Turner, "African Independent Churches and Economic Development," *World Development* 8, no. 7–8, (1980): 523–533.

social engagement within the context of economic regeneration assists the migrants to overcome locally bounded traditions of church organization to find unique ways of being.⁴⁹⁷ This helps them to meet their own most urgently felt needs of spiritual and economic independence from their colonial churches under their own kind of leaders.⁴⁹⁸ As a proof of their willingness to contribute to social and economic development of their host country, as they seek to consolidate visible outcomes of the gospel in their communities, with reference to reverse mission. This reverse mission rhetoric ‘signifies the appropriation of a new position for black Christians within the global power geometry’ where these Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches seek to establish themselves as major players in the religious arena in Britain.⁴⁹⁹ This has led to the acquisition of buildings to pursue this objective. Not only does the acquisition of these buildings reveal how powerful these churches have become, but also for some the ownership re-writes the history of the buildings themselves, to include their current occupation by a predominant minority group. The church in turn gains public recognition for regeneration they bring to the area by bringing back to life a derelict public building. This has been the case for the building currently occupied by DC and FCI. The power rhetoric also includes the financial power of the churches to earn their respect and place in society not only as receivers but also as givers to the localities and society in which they find themselves.

Considering the fact that ‘it is religion, more than anything else, which colours their understanding of the universe and their empirical participation in that universe, making life a profoundly religious phenomenon’, completing the often-laborious process (including getting planning permission) of purchasing a place of worship that can also be used for the church’s

⁴⁹⁷ Krause, “Cosmopolitan Charismatics?,” 420.

⁴⁹⁸ Turner, “African Independent Churches and Economic Development,” 523.

⁴⁹⁹ Doreen Assey, “Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place,” in Jon Bird et al. (eds), *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change* (London: Routledge, 1993), 59-69.

ancillary activities, is a spiritual experience in itself. It is often characterised by special prayer during services because for them it is about the Lord creating room for them in the land where they are migrants.⁵⁰⁰ The biblical narrative often used to describe this experience is Isaac's experience of hostility and strife over the wells he dug, recorded in Genesis 26. The appropriation of the experience within the context of scripture further deepens the spiritualising of the migration experience. This then in the minds of these Pentecostals decriminalises illegal immigration on the basis that the claims of Gods are superior to those of people, in the sense that God can move people from one place to the other to accomplish an assignment for him. In that instance the factors that precipitates migration encompass religious and spiritual factors. Also for some, the acquisition of buildings by the churches is a reminder to the members that God can also do great things for them. Apart from collectively claiming ownership and taking pride in their collective enterprise, the buildings serve as a reminder of the results of personal commitment and faithfulness towards God.⁵⁰¹ Therefore the building stands as a monument of the faith of the people.

5.4 Summary and Discussion

People carry their faith with them wherever they go and its expression is often subject to the context within which it is expressed. Within a new social context, existing forms of faith tend to influence that particular faith in diverse ways as the 'new' faith also influences existing faiths and their expression within that particular context. Ghanaian Pentecostal migrants bring their faith and its expression to Britain, and their faith influences and are influenced by the existing conditions within the host community in diverse ways. The introduction of elements

⁵⁰⁰ At the opening of the FCI building at welling.

⁵⁰¹ A view obtained from my discussions with pastors, leaders and members of ICGC, FCI, DC, and RCI.

of transnationalism means that not only are the host community's form of Christianity and the migrants' Christianity affected but the Christianity of the place of origin of the migrants is also affected. There are specific areas that can be identified as the ripple effect of the transnational status of the Pentecostal churches in Britain.

Firstly, due to the presence of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in the host communities, there are visible changes to the religious landscape. The face of Christianity has changed in several ways; there are infrastructural changes to accommodate the churches and the nature of worship services even in mainline historic churches and British Pentecostal churches have adopted liturgy styles to make migrant worshippers feel at home.

The phenomenon of migrants influencing worship styles of the churches in the host community also extends to the place of origin as even the music is shared to reflect the influence of the indigenous religions; church organisation strategies and practices are also shared in both directions. A significant example of this is the strict adherence to time in running church services which is a departure from the norm in most of the Pentecostal churches in Ghana.

In addition, the Pentecostal church has adopted and become embedded in the trend of using technology to reach out to people, including through mass media and social media platforms which are considered as 'icons of modernity'. This has enabled churches in the host community and the place of origin to become global and local players at the same time. Both churches in Britain and Ghana can participate in the churches in real time in spite of the spatial differentials to location and conditions.

Finally, the churches deliberate community regeneration initiatives involving the transformation of derelict public spaces into sacred edifices of worship have strengthened

their place in their communities and given their members – most of whom would otherwise be considered voiceless - a voice in society. These initiatives tend to portray the economic power these churches have, making them noticeable and recognisable in their communities as the gospel bearers, thereby solidifying the reverse mission agenda to bringing the gospel back to the country from which they first received it. The effect of this is that they are better able as local actors to go beyond their communities to making a global impact. The relationship between Ghanaian-led churches in Britain and Ghanaian churches cannot be under-estimated considering the fact that on the grounds of transnationalism each flows into the other, shapes its beliefs and praxis, and also its responses to the global influences of other forms of Christianity. The resulting ‘new’ form of faith is then consciously and unconsciously transported via transnational ties to the places of origin of the migrants.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION AND FINDINGS

6.1 Introduction

This thesis is an analysis of the trajectories of Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches and the religious and social change they have brought about in the host communities of Britain. It discusses and illustrates innovative ways by which Ghanaian Pentecostals contextualise their beliefs and praxis through the influence of their indigenous religions; integrate into British society; and subsequently contribute to both their place of settlement and of origin. The analysis of this thesis adds to the broader debate on the place of Ghanaian Pentecostals and the processes that ultimately lead to them forming and forging a transnational status in Britain. The key question which this thesis set out to explore were how and why the Ghanaian Pentecostal migrants and the churches they belong to have assumed transnational statuses. In doing so it identified internal micro-level integration strategies adopted by the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches within the context of macro-level national and governmental integration policies, as well as exploring specific areas of continuity and discontinuity of Ghanaian Pentecostal beliefs and praxis in the churches in Britain which give rise to the contextualisation of their faith. I argue that the churches and members are ultimately both transnational entities, and that the process of integration is made easier for migrant members through the initiatives of the church. Since its members embody the church, the beliefs and praxis of their faith from their place of origin influence the expression of their faith in their present context and that is enforced by their regular interaction with their places of origin.

The broader perspective of the study discusses the religious, cultural and socio-economic aspirations and to some extent the political aspirations associated with migrants coming to Britain. With my approach to the study, I look at religion through the lens of socio-cultural change in migrants' lives, but more importantly I explore how religious institutions and their members interact with their past, present and future. Investigating the internal integration and contextualisation rhetoric opens up the study of small-sized African Pentecostal churches in Britain in relation to the making of transnational churches. Aside from the religious sphere, the study also takes into account the wider local, national and global surroundings of the churches and how they fit into a phenomenon that may be traceable to other parts of the world with similar religious, cultural, economic and political circumstances.

The thesis contributes new information to the existing knowledge in this field in three areas: firstly, regarding the internal integration initiatives and interventions of the churches as social units; secondly, around the way in which continuity and discontinuity of Ghanaian Pentecostal belief and praxis leads to its contextualisation; and thirdly, exploring the influences of the churches on the social strata of both places of settlement and origin. Most of the literature on African Pentecostal migrants and churches in general overlooks how intertwined the churches are with the migrant community: the onus on both sides to ensure their continued existence as entities and conduits of expression in the private and public sphere. The churches and members work together in providing a place of communion with other believers and in the process help the migrants to integrate into the wider society through their initiatives. This subsequently provides the platform to remain in constant touch with their places of origin.

As I describe through the chapters of the thesis, the constant interaction of church and membership produces an inseparable mix, which helps us to analyse both members and church separately, but also as a unit, to understand their impact on their community and vice versa. I argued at the outset that understanding the transnational migrant status of any group of people or institutions begins with understanding the factors that gives rise to migration. Existing theories on migration, stress factors of economics, politics, and socio-cultural change in a generalised sense. These theories are put forward without reference to religious factors, other than where religious persecution is a factor of migration. I argue that from the perspective of some migrants, their migration is precipitated by a perceived command from God. There are also those who migrate initially for economic reasons only to realise after some time that there has been a 'spiritual' factor to their migration: they may consider themselves as the modern day archetypes of Joseph and the biblical patriarchs. This I refer to as a 'spiritual factor' due to difficulties in its measurability and the subjectivity of individuals' own religious experiences. This changes the face of migration, and means that whether migration should be considered positive or negative on the part of sending and receiving nations can only be properly analysed when the religious factors are considered. Consequently there is a need to develop a new theory that encompasses the 'spiritual' factor. It has to be noted, however, that apart from the command from God as a reason for migration, there are several other reasons subsumed under this religious dimension. Where individuals realise there may have been a spiritual dimension to their migration before leaving their countries of origin, this presents a particularly complex situation to explain. Church members who consider themselves highly spiritually inclined most often claim this 'spiritual factor', and these are typically the leaders and pastors of the churches. It is clear throughout the thesis that, according to the perspective of the migrants and leaders of the churches, where religious

factors precipitate migration, positive changes to the religious landscape result, both at places of origin and in their settled communities. I therefore propose that people migrate on the basis of a supernatural commission although in some cases, like that of Abraham in the Bible, migrants have been told to leave their country for a different country without being sure of their mission until they arrive at their destination and discover the reason for the supernatural prompting to move. Within the context of Pentecostal relationship to the scriptures, where the Bible is read literally and certain experiences are traced to other biblical narratives, such observations are problematic for existing theological discourses. But at the same time they are verifiable by the experiences of the migrants who attribute their migration to a supernatural commission. The ambivalence about this spiritual factor of migration is eliminated by the verifiable narratives of the migrants *vis à vis* their current placement within society as a result of their claims. Some, against all odds, have been able to confront the challenges of coming to Britain without the requisite resident permits and yet have become relatively well placed within society and use their experiences to help others.

The pastors of FCI and DC that started in Britain without a parent church in Ghana that I used as case studies in this thesis believe they came to Britain by a supernatural commission. They represent the many African Pentecostal pastors and Christians alike who have started churches and have a strong connection to their previous churches in their place of origin. Besides these pastors who started churches in Britain as a result of the supernatural commission, there are many such migrants who have different assignments besides starting churches. But these migrants also maintain that they are in Britain by a supernatural commission; and as a result they maintain strong connections to the churches, partly due to the similarities in experiences they share with the leaders of those churches. So strong is the connection and belief in the pastors and leaders of the churches and communities, that some

have assumed an important status in their communities, with airtime purchased on various radio and television stations to project them as role models within the migrant communities. The projection of these pastors on TV and radio is also partially in response to the marginalisation of sections of the communities who feel voiceless due to the stratification of society into a hierarchical order. Certain people considered to share a very close affinity to the British way of life are given the recognition to represent others within the community. And yet within the community itself those appointed who are normally from the Caribbean or are of mixed race are also not considered African or black enough. Such occurrences influence the wider debate on migration and on transmigrants' lives in communities, which is not usually captured in the various theories cited as giving rise to migration. This offers a perspective on migration theories not previously captured by theories of migration and it makes a contribution to the existing literature on migration. Within the context of migration it is expected that migrants move to their places of settlement taking their religious and cultural beliefs and practices with them. Conditions in their new context determine to a large extent how those beliefs and praxis are continued or discontinued.

6.2 Continuity and Discontinuity of Ghanaian Pentecostal Beliefs and Praxis in Ghanaian-led Pentecostal Churches

The observation of African Independent Churches (AICs) and various strands established in the northern hemisphere have led scholars to conclude that African churches are organised in a particular way, with beliefs and practices that are akin to the belief and practices of their mother churches in their places of origin. This is therefore described as African Christianity. Appiah, Adogame, ter Haar, Daswani, from previous researches identifies that the African

Pentecostal churches in Africa carry with them cultural nuances from their indigenous religious context which makes the beliefs and practices of the churches wherever they are found easily identifiable to their roots. This kind of Christianity and its expressions lie in the Pentecostals' literal translation and application of the scriptures. In some instances data analysis demonstrates that the Pentecostals bring their spiritual experiences to bear on scripture and make relevance of it without a much wider consideration to the contextual issues that arise. An analysis of some common practices such as deliverance; naming ceremonies; libation prayer language and its use in Pentecostal prayers; Prophetic consultation; and Pentecostal Music and dance concludes that Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain, whether they started in Britain or as a branch church, share some affinity with Pentecostal churches in Ghana. However, those churches that began here in Britain at the initiative of their migrant pastors without a parent church in Ghana tend to be more moderate in the practices mentioned above. It has been observed and noted in this thesis that these churches are moderate in terms of an aggressive and militant approach to prayer for instance.

In addition to this, the way the spirits are invoked in Ghanaian indigenous religions is not very different from how the spirit is invoked through 'praise and worship' in the Ghanaian-led Pentecostal churches in Britain. Similarly, Pentecostal churches associated with other cultural contexts invoke the Spirit in a way that fits their cultural interpretation of the presence of the spirit. The perspective of Ghanaian Pentecostal migrants is that in some burgeoning 'white' British Pentecostal churches, the invocation of the Spirit and the subsequent move of the Spirit appears very minimal or even non-existent. This viewpoint does not mean that the Spirit is absent in the 'white' Pentecostal churches, rather it is the militancy attached to invocation and expression of the presence of the Spirit found in the Ghanaian-led church that differs.

However, from the perspective of the African Pentecostal migrants, the Spirit is not present in the churches. If expressions of the presence of the spirit in the churches and in the lives of the people are indeed absent, as the Ghanaian Pentecostals claim, then unless ‘white’ British Pentecostals become awakened to this, very soon African Pentecostal Christians (i.e. those from an ethnic minority within British society) will shape the interpretation and experience of Christianity in Britain to an extent that is beyond what has been predicted. In other words, based on current trends, African Christianity will be the dominant type of Christianity in Britain in a quarter of a century. This is partly due to the fact that these Christians are loud and conspicuous and use various multimedia platforms to connect with the public. However, the downside is that most of these Christian TV and radio stations are largely patronised by the African migrant communities and therefore are unlikely to be making significant inroads into white Christian communities. However, the migrant communities perceive that they represent the present and future of Christianity in Britain. There seems to be a deliberate strategy on the part of the Ghanaian-led Pentecostals to perpetuate their cultural values across the generational divide making sure that the second and third generation members of the churches continue in the beliefs and praxis of the present, although there are bound to be some modifications because a section of the second and third generation of members have been born and raised in Britain. Their cosmology would therefore be marginally influenced by the culture perpetuated by the churches. These younger generations consider Britain to be their home. In spite of the inculcation of the values of their cultural heritage, these second and third generation migrants will someday free themselves from the beliefs and praxis of the older generation. This process has already begun in the churches where youth choirs and youth groups run programmes that contrast with their parents’ cultural stereotypes. The use of rap music and other contemporary music genres in church exemplify this. This path was

chosen because discrimination of the older generation of migrants in wider society meant that there was mistrust and, as Chapter Four showed, churches preferred to use the younger generation, most of whom have been born and raised in Britain, to lead its programmes and activities in order to gain acceptance by the larger host communities.

Other factors contributing to the reliance on the younger generation African Pentecostal beliefs include their educational attainment. Most often the educational attainment of these younger generation places them in a different and sometimes a better social groupings unlike the older generation in their churches. British societal values and culture imbibed through education would ultimately influence the perpetuation of this new culture would eventually feed into the beliefs and praxis of the churches. It is possible that this would not sustain the African-led churches in Britain. It is probable that the face of African Christianity in Britain may be that of the second and third generation, carrying similarities from the previous generation but also being somewhat different. As such, this new African Christianity could still be the strongest numerically, if the younger generation find it to be relevant to their lives.

There is currently a perception within the migrant community that the pastors and role models are being overlooked in favour of others in society who look and behave in a more British way than they do. The pastors are considered by their own communities to be stalwarts who through their struggles and leadership have paved the way for migrants to integrate into the wider communities. The Ghanaian youth in these churches feel that they are not adequately represented in the public arena and feel marginalised. It is the struggle for space within British society and the stereotyping of migrants as scroungers by the public that makes the process of integration an uphill task. I have suggested that the struggle for acceptance even within the fraternity of African Pentecostal believers besides the wider society is partly due to the fact

that they are of a different culture. The main difference is in the expression of their faith. Their faith has been particularly influenced by the Ghanaian indigenous religions that are embedded in the culture of the migrants and carried over to their new contexts. Their Christianity is Ghanaian, and is sometimes not easily appreciated and accepted by the predominantly white host community, giving rise to the need for internal strategies to assist with integration.

6.3 Internal Integration strategies

Since the end of the Second World War, Britain has been allowing migrants into Britain at various stages of its development, to fill job vacancies. Most migrants from Africa arrived in the 1970s. Under Tony Blair's government the Immigration, Asylum and Nationality Act 2006 was established to make ensure that those migrants who would contribute to Britain's prosperity and fill employment vacancies were allowed into the country, via a Points Based System, and that these migrants could become part of British society. In response to this government directive, various policies were initiated. The first of these was a policy of assimilation, which involved the redefinition of migrants' identity to be able to look like the majority. Over time, the policy of assimilation was considered unworkable and a new rhetoric of integration emerged. However, there are difficulties in defining exactly what is meant by integration and, without a proper definition, this approach has not been operationalised into practical programs. As part of the integration agenda, a 'Life in the UK Test' was instituted to ensure that every migrant who wants to stay in Britain permanently has knowledge of life in the UK. Unfortunately, from the perspective of the migrant, this program has not lived up to expectations in relation to integration into British society. In 2013, English testing has been

added as a further requirement for permanent residence under the broad umbrella of integration. From the migrants' points of view, state programmes and activities that come at a cost such as the English test and the 'Life in the UK Test' do not recognise their learning and or assist their subsequent integration as intended by the state. It is questionable whether the huge sum of money spent on the programme, which involves answering questions about the culture and political history of Britain has been worthwhile. Not all British nationals born and raised in Britain know all of the answers to the questions included, and this has not prevented them from owning businesses, buying houses, getting jobs and making a meaningful contribution to the communities in which they live. Based on my analysis of the macro-scale processes of integration initiated by the government under the definitions given for those policies, I posit that Britain in practice pursues an assimilation policy, although integration may be the intent. The misuse of the term integration means that although macro-level indicators may point to the success of policies and initiatives, in practice, these are practically useless for those they are meant to integrate. The bottom line is that these policies have been drawn up by policy makers, some of whom do not understand the whole migrant experience, including the privileges of living in Britain and the struggle to find space within their chosen settled communities to live out their dreams and accomplish their lives' aspirations and visions.

It is however understandable that the state does not want to be seen to promote illegal migration or to create imbalances in communities by creating states within the state, where there is a total transfer of the culture of a people to their receiving communities and where they live as if they were in their countries of origin. The territorial and cultural integrity of the country has to be protected somehow. The misconception underlying existing policies of integration and the initiatives accompanying them is that the longer a person lives in the UK

the more British the person will become and therefore the more easily they will integrate. However, it is not being in the UK for a long time that ensures an individual becomes integrated but rather through their understanding the operations of the state and feeling a part of its processes. To the migrants, this is where the role of their churches comes to the fore, because unlike the state, the churches' programs help them to feel a part of the community. Unlike the national level policy initiatives with huge budgets, the churches provide tailor made solutions to migrants to ameliorate their daily struggles and the challenges they face.

It is this that makes the churches a safe haven and popular amongst the migrants because the services support their continuing stay in the country. Previous studies by Funmati, Krause, Werbner, Leroi, Giles, and Mazzucato captured certain arrangements within the migrants' communities outside the church that in some cases provided economic support for their members, but these were not framed within the context of integration. A further contribution to the body of knowledge on this subject, is that the internal integration strategies adopted by the churches are motivated by their faith and the need to assist those in need, whether this is through a social welfare intervention, an immigration and nationality forum, or personal development or leadership training. The speakers, facilitators and trainers used for these initiatives are usually pastors or practising Christians, as chapter three showed. This study fills a gap in the existing body of knowledge by demonstrating that the churches use their initiatives and programmes strategically to support the integration of their migrant members into the settled community using tailor-made internal models designed by the pastors and leaders or sometimes by committees set up in the churches. From the migrants' perspective, these learning processes provide them with a perfect setting to integrate into the society. In some instances these initiatives involve providing the migrant members with information and knowledge about how to integrate into wider society. Such information may include giving

them information about how to come together to buy houses, or about immigration rules and how to be compliant with these, as discussed in the chapter three. The second is the affective domain: this refers to growth in feelings or emotional areas of one's life. The personal development and leadership training the churches provide for their migrant members prepares them to go through the difficulties of migration and creates a sense of community and support networks for people who attend the programs. In a pragmatic sense, the churches become the places in which migrants gain hands on experience: they are placed in leadership positions and made to serve on various committees in the churches and in the ministries of the churches. In this way they are given the opportunity to put into practice what they are taught in the training programs. Those who believe they have a supernatural commission to come to Britain to bring the nation back to Christ, consider this to be a process of self-actualisation and part of their fulfilment of the commission to migrate.

A prominent contribution of the integration strategies to the churches is that, the initiatives help the Ghanaian Pentecostal migrant and the churches create a new identity, both in private for their own sustenance, and in the public sphere for a new sort of engagement with their communities. Although to some extent, they remain African in their cosmology, the migrants are made to see a new perspective that is influenced by British values, and the programmes assist them in contextualising their faith and lifestyle in general to accomplish their goal of spreading the gospel. At the same time the training gives them a strong place in their settled community and helps them make use of that as a platform to maintain their ties to their places of origin. This process eventually develops further into the adoption of a transnational status.

6.4 Assuming the Transnational Status

Previous research by Schiller, Gulbrandsen and Schanton (as discussed in chapter one) on the transnational engagements of migrants overlooks certain issues, which this study examines critically. This thesis reveals that it is the internal processes through the integration initiatives of the church that assist migrant members to settle, before assuming a transnational status through their engagements with their places of origin. These internal integration strategies are much more effective than any government policy for integrating migrants into Britain. Transnationalism is not limited to the transfer of lifestyle and cultural traits to the place of origin, but more importantly concerns the processes that prepare migrants to engage with their places of origin. The churches were flexible in obtaining the required material and human resources to accomplish their purposes and brought in ‘experts’ who shared the same identity as their migrant members. These ‘experts’ and facilitators come to enforce the inculcated cultural ideals and values and move their audience from a familiar knowledge base to a new knowledge base, helping them in their process of change.

I posit that transnational engagement by migrants is not only a coping mechanism but also an indication that migrants have crossed the barriers that migration imposed on them with regard to being themselves. This study has shown that assuming a transnational status is not a one way process: influences from the homeland are at the same level, if not greater, than influences from the new settled communities, on the places of origin. There is a flow and a contra flow of religious convictions, cultural ideals and values, perception changes and outlook on life, socio-economic changes, political rhetoric and economic capital flows which have been captured quite well by most researchers in previous research in this field. The

churches are influenced by both local and global factors, meaning that the African churches we see in British communities are both a local and a global.

A further finding that this study contributes to the existing knowledge base is the fact that there are direct economic capitals flows to churches in Britain and Ghana. In the past support was given to Ghanaian churches by European and American church and para-church organisations. In the course of time due to the wave of Pan-Africanist and nationalist ideologies that swept through the churches in Ghana in the late 1980s to 1990s, churches were wary of Western financial ties as they considered them an opportunity for control by these donors. As a result they would rather accept money from their African sister churches in the West. This wave was championed by Mensa Otabil the leader of the International Central Gospel Church Ghana, who, promoted the idea of self-governing churches independent of Western donor assistance through his 'Heritage Series' held twice in a year in Accra and Kumasi. This was in a bid to raise the image of the 'black man' in reference to the African and to tell the world the 'black man' is capable of managing his own affairs, the ideological statement that was very popular during the days of the nationalists' struggles for independence in sub-Saharan Africa in the 1950s and 1960s. As discussed earlier in the thesis, at the commencement of ICGC Ghana's Central University, it rejected a set of computers donated by a Western para-church organization in the late 1990s. However around that same period it accepted donations of computers from ICGC Treasure House that is an ICGC branch church in South East London and also from the Leader of KICC London, Matthew Ashimolowo. The Pan-Africanist disposition of the African churches in Britain is an attempt to demonstrate that African Christianity is unique and to create an 'African Diaspora Voice' for Africans in Britain and in Africa. The message from this Pan-Africanist ideals is that, African Christianity has come of age and is ready to revitalise Christianity wherever it find

itself. This research has shown that the churches' see the acquisition of various landed properties in their settled communities as proof that they are capable of 'managing their own affairs' and are not dependent on the parent host community. These acquisitions are normally places of worship and also centres for community-wide projects that address specific social issues. As well as providing physical space, they also encouragement those migrants who have suffered or been badly treated due to bad publicity about immigrants, helping them believe that they are capable of accomplishing anything they set out to do. For those who consider their migration to be a supernatural commission, the accomplishment of purchasing property to them serves as proof of having been instructed and sent forth by God, as in the case of the biblical narrative of Abraham in the Book of Genesis who ended up being wealthy and influential in a land where he was initially a stranger. I therefore posit that the strength of the transnational ties built by migrants is usually dependent upon the level of integration of migrants with their places of settlement.

Some areas that present the opportunity for further related research can be identified. Firstly, the fact that the Ghanaian-led churches currently rely on the influx of migrants from Ghana suggests that analysis of current and predicted trends in migration from Ghana to Britain should be investigated, with a view to understanding their implications for the scale and social-economic and political power of these churches in future. Secondly, a critical examination of the migrants' socio-economic and political status in their communities of residence would be valuable; this could explore to what extent their integration has helped them to achieve their status. Thirdly, there is the need for further investigation into the role of second and third generation migrants in upholding the cultural values of their parents' heritage, since that will inform beliefs and praxis in the churches in the future. Finally, an in-depth comparative study could be undertaken of the Pentecostal churches in Ghana and

Britain, including research into their transnational relationship, which might help establish in which direction the flow of influence is stronger. This could also assist in projecting or forecasting the future of these churches in Britain.

This project has contributed to the on-going debate of understanding of African-led migrant churches in the Northern hemisphere and the close relationships they have with their parent churches and the nation in country of origin. These relationships have implications for the intercultural approach to studying Pentecostal churches, where there is a fusion of the local and the global in the identities of churches as organisations and of their members. Although their membership are from one predominant culture, through their beliefs and praxis these churches showcase the process of integration, and the process of contextualisation within a diverse globalised unit, where nuances from different cultures and nations are exhibited in one place and at one time. The processes that help form these diverse globalised units, also develop the capacities of the churches and individuals to participate in negotiations in the global religious market to establish Christianity as a predominant faith and make it more relevant to humankind.

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Appendix 1

Selected lists of persons interviewed

Participants, Pseudonym and Personal Characteristics

International Central Gospel Church, London

Pseudonym	Age range	Gender	Country of origin
Pastor Edwin	51 – 60	M	Ghanaian
Pastor Andy	41 – 50	M	Ghanaian
Darkoa	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
TT	41- 50	M	Ghanaian
Kwame	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Effe	21 – 30	F	Ghanaian
Adonteng	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Abena	41 – 50	F	Ghanaian
Serwaa	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
Audrey	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian

Royalhouse Chapel International, London

Pseudonym	Age range	Gender	Country of origin
Pastor Alex	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Pastor Charles	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Lady Deacon Esinam	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian

Angie	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
Amoako	41 – 50	F	Ghanaian
Brew	41 -50	M	Ghanaian
Adu	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
Owuraku	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Kwakye	41 – 50	F	Ghanaian
Amposah	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian

Freedom Centre International, London

Pseudonym	Age range	Gender	Country of origin
Pastor Shadrach	41 - 50	M	Ghanaian
Pastor Nsokie	41 - 50	M	Ghanaian
P. Lady Dorothy	41 – 50	F	Ghanaian
A. Twum	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
Kofi	31 – 40	K	Ghanaian
Akua	41 – 50	F	Ghanaian
Agnes	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
Abena	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
Nii	61 -70	M	Ghanaian
Abrokwah	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian

Dominion Centre, Woodgreen, London

Pseudonym	Age range	Gender	Country of origin
Pastor Ohene –Apraku	51 - 60	M	Ghanaian

P. Lady Betty	51 – 60	F	Ghanaian
Borteley	51 – 60	F	Ghanaian
Queenie	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
Akrade	41 – 50	M	Ghanaian
Manu	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Kwame	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Aboagye	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Hannah	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
Lizzy	41 -50	F	Ghanaian

Interviewees chosen at random from Pentecostal Churches

Pseudonym	Age range	Gender	Country of origin
Kola K	51 – 60	M	Nigerian
Pastor Gyamfi	41 – 50	M	Ghanaian
Pastor G	41 -50	M	Ghanaian
Pastor L.	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian (USA)
Pastor Amanor	41 – 50	M	Ghanaian
Pastor Mandy	41 – 50	M	Ghanaian
Pastor Anaman	41 – 50	F	Ghanaian
Pastor Aminatey	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Shola Lana	41 – 50	F	Nigerian
Grace	31 – 40	F	Ghanaian
Goodman	41 - 50	M	Ghanaian
Alice	31 – 40	F	Congolese
Zibengwa	31 – 40	F	Zimbabwean

Amofah	41 – 50	F	Zimbabwean
Ozokwor	31 – 40	F	Nigerian
Chini	31 – 40	F	Nigerian
Prosper	41 - 50	M	Ghanaian
Kwabena	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Osei	31 – 40	M	Ghanaian
Tendai	31 – 40	F	Zimbabwean

Appendix 2

Interview Protocol

Church Members:

For statistical purposes, I would be grateful if you could please provide me with the following information:

Personal Data

1. Age..... 2. Gender
3. Place of Abode
4. Profession.....
5. Marital status.....
6. Number of Children (If applicable).....
- 7a. How many of them were born in Britain?.....
- b. Do they come to church with you? a. Yes b. No

Church Information.

1. Do you hold any position or play any role in the Church? a. Yes b. No
2. How long have you been a part of this church? a. Under 1 year b. 1- 5 years c. over 5 years
4. Do you have an African heritage? a. Yes b. No
5. Which country in Africa do your parents originally come from?
.....
6. Did a particular need bring you to this church? a. Yes b. No
- 6b. If yes, please state the need.....

7. Is there anything the church did or has done to help you to settle in the country as a migrant?

a. Yes b. No

7b. If yes, can you please state what?.....

8. Did you join the church because friends and family come here? a. Yes b. No

9. How often do you attend church? a. Sunday only b. both mid-week only c. both Sunday and mid-week

10. Do you also attend training workshops and seminars organised by the church, regularly or occasionally? a. Yes b. No

10b. Can you kindly mention the workshops and seminars you attended?

.....
.....

Questions

1. How often do you see traces of African Pentecostal church beliefs and practices in the services of your church? Please underline your answer.

a. not often b. often c. most often

2. Are there traditional practices you can identify as African that you follow in celebrating various rites of passage in church such the naming ceremonies?

a. Yes b. No c. unsure

2b. Can you name a few of these practices?.....

3. Do you know if healing and deliverance sessions, are organised by your church?

a. Yes b. No

If yes have you attended any before? a. Yes b. No

4. Do you take part in a welfare programme of the church?

- a. Yes b. No
5. Have you benefitted from any welfare programme of the church?
- a. Yes b. No
- 5b. Can you please state the scheme you benefitted from?.....
6. Have you ever had a 'prophetic consultation' with your pastors?
- a. Yes b. No
- 7a. Is there anything your pastor preached or a church activity or programme in place that helps people to settle in their communities as migrants.
- a. Yes b. No
- b. Kindly state the sermon, workshop or church activity.
.....
- c. How did that help you as a migrant?
11. Do you think your church has influenced your branch church in Ghana or others churches in any way? a. Yes b. No *If yes how?*
.....
12. Do you know anything your church has done as a contribution to the community the church is in? a. Yes b. No *If yes please state:*
.....
13. Is your church embarking on any project in Ghana either wholly or in joint partnership?
with any church or organisation?
- a. Yes b. No c. Not sure
- 13b. If yes, would please state what project it is?.....

Thank you for taking time to complete this questionnaire.

For Pastors/Leaders:

For statistical purposes, I would be grateful if you could please provide me with the following information:

Personal Data

1. Age..... 2. Gender
3. Marital status.....
- 4a. Number of Children (If applicable).....
 - b. How many of them were born in Britain?

Research Questions

1. Do you have people in your church who trace their origins to another country? a.
Yes b. No
2. Of the total membership can you give a rough estimate of the percentage who are migrants?
Who have come to this country as adults?
 - a. 0 -10 b. 10- 25 c. 26 -40 d. over 50
- 3a. Are there any sermons you have preached, organised any workshops or programme of activities that help migrant members integrate into British society? a. Yes b. No
- 3b. Can you please state which sermons workshops or programme of activities?
.....
.....
4. Are there beliefs and practices you hold that you can find in Pentecostal churches in Ghana or Africa in general? But not in English churches? a. Yes b. No
- 4b. If yes can you kindly mention some of them?.....
5. Do you have a strategy in place to attract other nationalities and White British into the church?

a. Yes b. No If yes can you please mention a few?

.....

6. Does the church have any relationship with any of the predominantly English churches?

a. Yes b. No

7b. Kindly mention some of the churches?.....

7. Is there anything you have contributed to the community in which the church is situated?

a. Yes b. No If yes can you please name them?

8. Would you consider the church an African church or Ghanaian church?

.....

.....

9. Can you please state what the mission of your church is?

.....

10. Has the church got any link with any church in Ghana? And how does both churches affect each other?

.....

.....

11. Is the church undertaking any project in Ghana? a. Yes b. No

If yes can you please give a brief description?

Thank you for taking time to complete this questionnaire.

Appendix 3

African TV Stations on Sky Digibox

TV Station	Channel	Ownership
Olive TV	593	Zion Church
OHTV	199	Redeemed Christian Church of God
Believe TV	592	Victorious Pentecostal Assembly
Faith World TV	590	UK World Evangelical Church
KICC	591	Kingsway Int. Christian Centre
Love World TV	586	Christ Embassy Church